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17 October 1984

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LIBYAN-MOROCCAN AGREEMENT ASSESSED

Beirut AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 22, 3 Sep 84 pp 3-4

[Text]

Last month's union agreement between Libya and Morocco has raised alarms in a number of Western and Arab capitals over what on the surface appears to be the most unlikely alliance imaginable in the Middle East. On the face of it, one of the Arab world's most committed pro-Americans has thrown in his lot with its most mercurial and maverick figure who, if he has any consistent ideology at all, appears to be bent on undermining Western influence in the region.

Such were the fears of the apparently changed alignments in North Africa that President Hafez al-Assad, showing with proof positive that he is fully recovered from his earlier indisposition, scurried off to Tripoli (twice!), while the French president, François Mitterrand, made a similar number of excursions to Morocco.

In fact, both Arab leaders had good reason for making the agreement — although, whether it goes very much further than a series of understandings on foreign policy and increased cultural exchanges, we shall be surprised.

For King Hassan of Morocco the presumed withdrawal of Libyan support from the Polisario Front, fighting for the liberation of the western Sahara, and Libya's implicit recognition of Morocco's sovereignty over the disputed area is an important asset. Not only will it cut off one of the Front's sources of funds and weapons, but it will also align Tripoli behind Morocco in its continuing rivalry with Algeria for political hegemony of the Maghreb. It was, presumably, fear of this and the possible withdrawal of Libyan support for Syria in the wider Arab arena that sent President Assad on his flying visits to Colonel Muammar Ghaddafi. In short, the Syrian leader probably envisaged the breakup of a radical alliance which, if not the most vital force in the Arab world, at least provided mutual diplomatic, moral and political support. Presumably, Col. Ghaddafi was able to convince the Syrian head of state that the unity agreement did not undermine the good relations between Tripoli and Damascus and

that support over such issues as Lebanon and vis-à-vis Iraq would continue.

Nor is there any reason to believe that King Hassan has suddenly defected from the Western camp. If the agreement requires nothing more on Morocco's part than King Hassan's recognition of Libya's claim to the Aouzou strip in northern Chad, this is a very small price to pay. We doubt strongly whether King Hassan would have gone along with an agreement that demanded recognition of Chad as an area of Libyan interest. This would not only have required a major reversal of Moroccan policy in that part of Africa, but would have brought perhaps irresistible pressures from other pro-Western governments in the region and beyond who might fear that Egypt and Sudan had been seriously outflanked.

Rather, we believe the agreement with Morocco will now pave the way for Libya to disengage in Chad, confining itself to diplomatic support for Goukouni Oueddai but not supporting a continued military offensive against President Hissène Habré in Ndjamená. It is very likely that the French defence minister, Charles Hernu's flying visit to the Chadian capital last week, was to make military dispositions for the withdrawal of some, perhaps all, of the French troops in the region, leaving that much-fought-over battlefield divided.

For the West, it doesn't matter one way or the other which particular tribal lord should rule in Ndjamená, since neither Habré nor Oueddai is better than the other and they have become important to Western and Arab interests only in terms of their relations with Libya. If Libya is now confident enough to withdraw from Chadian affairs, this would be good for Chad and for everybody else.

If, as Col. Ghaddafi seemed to indicate in his releasing of two Britons detained without charge in Libyan jails last week, Libya is trying to find a way of mending its fences with the United States and Europe, then King Hassan might be an effective intermediary in bringing this about. Certainly, it will take a long time and will require rather more substantial political acts than simply releasing two people who should never have been arrested in the first place. However, if the agreement with Morocco is the first step towards that end, it may yet prove an advantage for us all.

CSO: 4500/7

ISLAMIC SYMPOSIUM EXAMINED

East Burnham ARABIA: THE ISLAMIC WORLD REVIEW in English No 37, Sep 84
pp 69-70

[Article by Fahmy Howaidi]

[Text]

● The conference was opened by Kamaal Abul Majd, former minister of information in Egypt and presently special adviser to the Kuwaiti prime minister. In his paper on the prospects for Islamic awakening he stated that there are three essential prerequisites for this awakening to continue. The first was reasserting the universality of Islam and its openness towards all people; the second, restoring reason to its supreme status, and resuming "ijtihad"; the third, avoiding confrontations with the existing regimes, as well as early confrontations with Islam's opponents.

Abul Majd argued that many youths in particular might take perilous and precipitous initiatives which might cost the Islamic awakening its future. He also said that such confrontations often occur in the Islamic countries, and the people pay very heavily for them in blood, freedom of individuals and security and stability of Islamic societies. Such clashes sow suspicion and mutual misunderstanding. Governments live under the misapprehension that confrontation with the Islamists is inevitable, thus linking working for Islam in the minds of whole generations with violence and conflict between rulers and ruled.

Abul Majd made a number of suggestions as to how to avoid such conflicts. These included:

- A call to governments to keep the door open for contacts and dialogue with the representatives of the Islamic trend, and to investigate the social and ideological roots of political violence. This goes far beyond the capabilities of the present security

forces who now deal with the Islamic movements.

- A call to the Islamists to reconsider their attitudes towards the issues of freedom, democracy, and concept of groups (Jamaa'a) infidelity and Jahiliyya, and rule according to the Holy Quran, and the conditions and requirements for enhancing what is right and dissuading from wrong and unholy deeds. Abul Majd believed that the resort to violence was caused by misunderstanding these concepts. The Islamic movements and their thinkers should study the circumstances and cases of confrontation and conflict with the governments during the last 30 years, so that lessons may be learned for the future.

Muhiddin Atiyyah (an Egyptian writer resident in Kuwait) adopted a similar approach. He submitted a study on the "Diseases of the Islamic Awakening," and held that the "struggle against the authorities was one of these diseases." He asserted that Islamic organisations active at present believe that changing the regime would be enough to solve all problems of society, and that seizing power would enable those organisations to achieve their main aims. This trend has produced a number of authors and theoreticians, Atiyyah said, who considered that conflict with the authorities was a form of jihad.

Muhiddin Atiyyah added that it would be wrong for Islamic political action to be always aimed against the executive authorities alone. This would be considered as undermining the importance of the legislative and judicial bodies, and of the influence of the media on public opinion.

ion. He cited the work of Sayyed Dasouki and Mahmoud Safar, who have shown that all cultural groups are bound to adopt a course of action that would enable them to avoid clashing with the political authority. These writers went on to state that by working hard to effect a slow yet deep change, not usually felt by political authority, and by not involving themselves as groups in daily political activity but rather by leaving such aspects to the individual efforts of some of their members, Islamic organisations could bring about a transformation of society. "These two scholars are of the opinion that involving the Islamic movements in daily political activity is only a plot to entangle them into a definite losing battle," Atiyyah said.

These remarks evoked a response during the discussions and debates at the symposium. Prominent among those attending, and supporting this position, was Dr Muhammad Said Ramadan al-Booti, a former Dean of the Faculty of Islamic Law (Sharia) in Damascus, who reiterated that the bitter experiences of the Islamic movements in the past must force them to reconsider their confrontation and collision course with the regime.

Hujatolislam Muhammad Ali Al-Taskheery, representative of the Iranian revolution, opposed this view. He called on Muslim masses to rise and confront falsehood, tyranny and oppression. He argued that had the Iranian revolution adopted a method of truce and compromises, it would never have scored its victory. Such a victory was not easy, because its price was the blood of the martyred heroes who challenged the Shah's tanks and secret police with daring and courage.

A young Algerian who attended the symposium said that it was the regime's policies which usually instigated clashes with the Islamists, and not the other way round; and that most existing movements were victims of coercion, attack, and liquidation by the regime. He added that a clash or conflict – initiated by the Islamic movements – should not be taken for granted or as inevitable, for these movements are usually the victims not the aggressors.

The symposium's discussions ranged over a number of other important issues, including the reality of the Islamic awakening. Some argued that the awakening is ever-present and self-renewing in the history of Islam which, by its very nature, is a "religion of awakening": the mujtahi-

deen "deriving new Islamic judgments based on original primary Quranic and Sunna evidence" are mere symbols of this fact.

Other participants, however, felt that what is going on now has nothing to do with the "awakening" or its implications; it is, rather, its antithesis, because of the many shortcomings and mishaps that have befallen the current "Islamic phenomenon." Other speakers refuted this and held that the "awakening" has actually taken place and that the success of the Iranian revolution is its proof. Others still, interpreted the "awakening" literally as rising from sleep and, in that sense, as a factual reality.

Another view saw in the "awakening" a step leading to renaissance, and argued that the present Islamic phenomenon does reflect the possibility of a potential awakening or, as Malek bin Nabi, the Algerian Islamic thinker puts it, the Muslim umma is going through a "state of the ability to effect an awakening," and that the actual happening of the awakening depends on our ability to turn the possibility into a fact, and to avail ourselves of the suitable circumstances to attain a revival or renaissance from the status quo.

Some speakers attributed the phenomenon of Islamic revival to the economic and political developments in the Arab world (a growing self-awareness), especially after independence and the expulsion of occupying forces, then the sudden wealth of the Arab world following the sharp rise in oil prices.

Others added to those causes the continuing innovative movements in Islamic thought and the success of the Iranian revolution. Another speaker emphasised the state of alienation which befell the Islamic world and which amounted to an attempt at destruction of identity and self-punishment. This initiated a resistance that took the form of a rebellion and the seeking of protection behind the Islamic identity.

Moreover, the 1967 defeat had shaken the Arab world, and was almost a declaration of the bankruptcy of all the political and ideological examples dominant in the Arab nation and a straightforward call for seeking an alternative. The Islamic example was the only one available.

The relation between the Islamic revival and the application of Islamic Sharia was discussed when a speaker said that the growing call for the implementation of Islamic Sharia laws is one of the great achievements of the awakening. This

opinion was backed by some, especially the representative of the Iranian revolution.

Another opinion opposed "official Islam," whereby a certain regime decreed laws meant to give the faithful masses the false impression that it was steady on the road to Islam. At the same time, such regimes turned a blind eye to the spirit and objectives of the Sharia aimed at establishing justice, shura (democracy) and freedom. Thus the whole society, its values, educational curricula and media are kept totally estranged from Islam and, possibly, operates contrary to its principles.

Opinions on the future of the Islamic awakening fluctuated between optimism and pessimism. The continued growth of the phenomenon, some argued, depended on an atmosphere of freedom and democracy and awareness by the leaders of the Islamic current of the existing challenges and their priorities, so that the Islamic movements avoid any involvement in secondary issues and skirmishes that could divert them from the general ones and the major and decisive battles.


In this respect one speaker likened the Islamic movements to bodies without heads, thus describing the almost total absence of a leadership with awareness, vigilance and discretion, capable of monitoring priorities without confusion or erroneous conclusions.

CSO: 4500/6

NEW FAMILY CODE REVIEWED

East Burnham ARABIA: THE ISLAMIC WORLD REVIEW in English No 37, Sep 84 pp 22-23

[Article by Mustafa Shirazi]

[Text]  The family code battle has raged intermittently since Algeria's independence in 1962, and especially since President Chadli came to power in 1979. It was a debate between those who wanted Algerian family life to be organised along western and secularist lines, and those who advocated a family law in conformity with Islamic principles and ethics.

The pro-western side is led by the French-educated elite who control the state apparatus. On the other hand, the Islamists mainly represent pressure groups in the FLN party and other institutions such as the National Assembly. These groups' political weight comes from the fact that they represent the views of the majority of the people without being themselves regarded as staunch "fundamentalists."

In recent years, passionate discussions have taken place around the status of women in society. The secularists have succeeded in focusing attention on this question because they consider that Islam maintains women in a state of legal inferiority in relation to men. The French press, widely read by the Algerian intelligentsia, had consistently supported the upholders of this view on every occasion.

Eventually — and in view of the rising pressure of Islamic activism — the authorities submitted draft proposals for discussion at the lowest levels of the FLN, where the ordinary members of the party gave their views on how Algerian family life should be organised. The result is a family code, finally endorsed in May, which conforms to a great extent to the

Sharia as well as to the "customs proper to the Algerian people."

When presenting the code during a press conference in Algiers in June, Minister of Justice Boualem Baki said that the new law takes into account progress without ignoring the "well understood" Islamic way of life. "The legislator was guided by the Quran and the sacred tradition of the Prophet," he stated. The code fills a legal gap of 22 years, during which rulings in family matters were largely influenced by French law as well as by the personal political and ideological bias of the judges.

The new law is considered to be modernist. In his press conference, the justice minister also mentioned that "the views of some Islamic jurists were ruled out." Although the minister did not elaborate on this remark, it appears from the new code that whenever several opinions were given by Islamic jurists on one single issue, the Algerian lawmakers opted for what they considered to be in greater conformity to their own views. This meant, for instance, a greater stress on the protection of women's rights and also restrictions on polygamy.

The code has taken a stand on a number of widespread practices which originate in customs and traditions but which people have come to associate with Islam. Most of these evolve around marriage and divorce. One fundamental element which has been much abused by parents is the requirement of their consent for their children to be married. Islamically speaking, parents are not entitled to force their chil-

dren to marry — very often, families mutually promise the marriage of their children when they are still infants, and any revolt from the grown-up children is met with fierce repression. The result has been either early divorce, with serious consequences for the children, or unbalanced households, generally to the wife's disadvantage. In this area, the family law stipulates that marriage is contracted with "the consent of the future spouses" and that "the wali (guardian) cannot prevent his ward from contracting into marriage," except for a father whose daughter is under age. Another article of the code categorically forbids the wali to force his ward to contract into marriage.

In conformity with Sharia, eight articles list the various restrictions against marriage. Contrary to the Tunisian personal status code, for instance, the new Algerian law states in article 31 that "the Muslim woman cannot marry a non-Muslim man." In reality, non-Muslim males — sometimes even atheists — who intend to marry Muslim females get around the difficulty by converting to Islam, thereby making their marriage lawful.

Polygamy is not made illegal, as expected by the secularist, but has been made subject to intention of equity between the wives and to prior information being given of the existing and future wives. Under the law, the existing wives have the right to seek divorce if they do not consent to polygamy.

However, divorce can only be envisaged as a solution to hopeless cases, the code says. In the event of the apostasy of a spouse, it is stipulated that marriage becomes null. Divorce by the man by three successive declarations is recognised by the code, which sanctions the remarriage of those divorced in conformity with the Quran. However, if the judge realises that the husband has abused his right to divorce, he will grant damages to the wife. On the other hand, the wife can seek divorce under eight conditions, including the husband's absence for over one year without valid reason as well as the case of *khol'* (other personal reasons the wife may have). Reconciliation is provided for under the procedure laid down by the Sharia, but mediation may not exceed two months.

After divorce has taken place, *hadana*

(custody of minors) normally goes, in order, to the mother, the maternal grandmother or aunt. *Hadana* for the boy lasts until he is 10 years old and the judge can extend it to 16 if the mother has not married again. As for the daughter, she remains with her guardian until the age of marriage.

Children born of mixed marriages — particularly between Algerian males and French females — have been a bone of contention between France and Algeria, each country ruling in favour of its own nationals. Parents have resorted to kidnapping and taking the children away to their respective countries. This is a very delicate problem, as it involves two civilisations, two ways of life and two religions. The Justice Minister reaffirmed that the *hadana* clause applied equally to French female divorcees and that Algeria would enforce rulings made in French courts in this respect even if these "are coloured with a certain discrimination." It is difficult to envisage French women (generally non-Muslims) educating their children in France in the religion of their Muslim father, as required by article 62 of the family code. In fact, article 69 gives the courts power to remove custody rights from mothers who decide to live outside Algeria, "taking into account the interests of the child".

Tabanni (adoption) and *kafala* (legal guardianship) are in accordance with the Sharia. Also, in matters of inheritance, the code is largely in conformity with Islam, although some innovations were reportedly introduced which concern the reinforcement of the children's rights.

Finally, the husband is recognised as the head of the family to whom the wife owes obedience; here too, the respective rights of the husband and wife are inspired by the Sharia. Article 222 clearly states that "in the absence of a clause in this code, reference is made to the clauses of the Sharia."

The new Algerian family law is largely in conformity with Islamic teachings and is better than the more secularised Tunisian counterpart. However the Algerian bar is, by and large, of the French school of law. Lawyers still have room for interpretation, in accordance with their political and ideological affiliation — therefore the training of Islamic lawyers is of paramount importance.

INTERVIEW WITH MEMBER OF CONSERVATIVE WING OF NEW WAFD PARTY

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic No 2930, 6 Aug 84 pp 14-15

[Interview with Kamal Khalid al-Muhami by Jamal al-Din Husayn: "'The Conservative Wafd --a New Party to Save Wafd Principles"; place and date not specified]

[Excerpt] The New Wafd attacked the July Revolution and denied that it had achieved anything great...and it entered into party alliances with forces and currents that did not believe at all in the party life as a means for consultation and democracy. As a result, Wafd elements faithful to the principles and legacy of the Wafd party withdrew to save themselves and their principles...and the result was an attempt to establish a new party called the "Conservative Wafd" to speak for the true Wafd principles, apart from any falsification or deviation.

This interview took place with Kamal Khalid al-Muhami, representative for the founders of the new party, regarding the new party, its program, and the disagreement between it and the New Wafd:

Disagreement Over Principles

[Question] Mr Kamal Khalid, why the "Conservative Wafd" Party?

[Answer] As soon as the decree was enacted allowing the Wafd party to resume its activities, at the end of October 1983, the leadership of the New Wafd was faced with an extremely difficult dilemma, which was that the law allowing the party to operate--and the establishment of party organizations and headquarters in various governorates that that required--coincided with the approach of the election campaign for the People's Assembly. My view, which I made clear and expressed to Fu'ad Siraj al-Din, was that he should forget, if only for two months, November and December, that there was an election campaign and to concern himself with building up the party. Building up the party and its organizations was my goal. Building up the party and organizing its leadership requires men and youth characterized by purity, the desire to give, and faith in national unity and the rights and dignity of man, but the elections would require cooperation with other sorts of people.

[Question] Mr Kamal, you still have not answered my question.

[Answer] All attempts failed to separate the act of preparing for the elections from building up the party and its organizations along lines that befitted Wafd principles and were in accordance with the spirit of the age we are living in, and which could be presented to youth as lofty examples of public political activity that would fill them with a spirit of hope and confidence in a bright future. However what happened--as has become clear to everyone--was that as soon as the law allowed the New Wafd to resume its activities, Fu'ad Siraj al-Din began to act on his own and he turned everyone around him, without exception, into copies without opinions of their own, and he was encouraged to do that by the defeated remnants of power seekers and opportunists.

[Question] How?!

[Answer] Without mentioning names, one of the leaders of the Nasir era, who is very popular in one of the Cairo neighborhoods, surprised us by announcing that he was joining the Wafd party in 1978 as one of its founders. Fu'ad Siraj al-Din justified accepting him at the time by citing the party's need for 20 signatures from members of the People's Assembly, according to the law that was in force at the time before it was changed. Then when the party itself dissolved in 1978, this person vanished completely and he did not try to visit Fu'ad Siraj al-Din or to contact him. One day, I was surprised by Fu'ad Siraj al-Din telling me, "The greatest decision that we have made on behalf of the Wafd was to halt its activity because this period has revealed many elements that have to be purged from the Wafd." Fu'ad Siraj al-Din told me that that person, on the day that we were talking about him, went to Cairo airport and stood among senior officials receiving the late President al-Sadat upon his return from the United States after signing the Camp David accord. And when al-Sadat got to him and was surprised to see him among those receiving him, he refused to shake his hand, and he turned to those around him and said, "Who was it who brought him here?"

And no one was surprised when this person turned up once again to impose himself as soon as the decision was made to resume activity of the New Wafd party.

[Question] How do you explain Fu'ad Siraj al-Din's position towards this person and others?

[Answer] Those who know Fu'ad Siraj al-Din know that he is indiscriminate in his relationships, to a degree that often surprised us, and that--by virtue of our closeness to him--he is happiest when he brings his opponents and those who oppose the Wafd close to him, and Fu'ad Siraj al-Din's ability to do that goes beyond all imagining. Even worse, he is always ready to give precedence to these over the original Wafd members, those most faithful to Wafd principles. I need only point to the woman deputy who used to hold a prominent position in an opposing party--this study backed the September 1981 resolutions that urged the late President al-Sadat to do away with this "riff-raff," meaning the leadership of the opposition, including Fu'ad Siraj al-Din. Then, Fu'ad Siraj al-Din could not wait to surprise us by accepting her as a member of the New Wafd party then placing her as a candidate at the head of the party list.

Also, one of the Wafd candidates was known by many people to be a drunkard. Every day four people would carry him by his arms and legs to get him away from bars and wine shops. In spite of that, his campaign posters as a Wafd candidate swamped the streets of Cairo, whereas he is a shame and a disgrace afflicting every Wafd member.

In general, the methods which Mr Fu'ad Siraj al-Din used in forming the party made it a party good for waging election campaigns and able to get seats in the People's Assembly, but in my opinion and the opinion of the founders of the Conservative Wafd party, we cannot sacrifice basic and lofty principles even for all the seats of the People's Assembly; those principles which we embrace and which represent pure Wafd doctrine, the doctrine of giving, of nationalism, democracy and national unity.

National Unity...

[Question] So the Conservative Wafd's disagreement with Fu'ad Siraj al-Din is over principles and not just over methods and tactics of party operations?

[Answer] We believe that the New Wafd party has abandoned the principles which we embrace. The best example of this is that the first edition of the New Wafd newspaper came out with two editorials, the first one defending the acts of Egyptians working abroad whom smuggle money through widespread smuggling offices there, and who do not go through national banks, which causes great harm to our national economy--and the second editorial defended the end of watching Saydnawi and others, and of course this is not what the people expect of the Wafd. Also, in its third and fifth editions, the Wafd newspaper published big ads for a bar in al-Zamalak which offers the best international wines 24 hours a day, something which conflicts with the reformist message of the Wafd and what should be done to preserve the spiritual, moral, and religious values of our society.

[Question] What are the points of disagreement between the program of the Conservative Wafd and the program of the New Wafd party?

[Answer] What there is no doubt about is that the principle of national unity which the Wafd has always espoused has been violently shaken by the strange alliances which the Wafd made before and during the election campaign. The statement by the preparatory committee of the Conservative Wafd aspired to assure working towards and firmly establishing and applying basic principles and fundamental concepts, the first being, "Religion is for God Almighty, and the nation is for all," and, "Authority is consultative," and that national unity cannot be bartered or bargained with, that respect for the Constitution, its defense, and applying its rules are a sacred national duty, and that nationalism is a way and a manner of behavior.

[Question] Does the program of the Conservative Wafd differ in that from the program of the New Wafd?

[Answer] The political parties law number 40 of 1977 stipulated that the program of any new party, its policies and methods of carrying out this program,

differ clearly and obviously from the programs of the other parties. The most important thing which distinguishes the program of the Conservative Wafd is the participation of the party masses in turning the wheel of production...and also expressing openly the intention of accomplishing the goal which Egypt has been working for for hundreds of years, which is the achievement of the full unity of the Nile Valley, Egypt and the Sudan. The program also includes other articles, but we prefer not to mention them now.

[Question] You say, "The participation of the party masses in turning the wheel of production"...how will that be achieved?

[Answer] When I began to form committees for the New Wafd party in the Damietta Governorate, before I resigned from the Wafd, a committee of doctors, lawyers, and merchants was elected. Our first thought in this committee was how could we distinguish ourselves among the people? The doctors said they were prepared to proclaim a day on which examinations would be free, in addition to permanently lowering fees for treating simple people and those of limited income, while the lawyers said they were prepared to form a committee to defend cases for those unable to pay, and a committee was formed among the party's committees to take charge of settling disputes among people and bring about reconciliation in a friendly manner. Likewise, the merchants of Damietta expressed their readiness to participate in any activity that would alleviate citizens' hardships and guarantee that they be able to obtain necessary goods without trouble and without having to pay excessive prices. This is the method that the Conservative Wafd will use in spreading and popularizing itself, God willing, throughout the Arab Republic of Egypt.

Impeding the Establishment of the Party

[Question] Who are the most important names and personalities who are included in the list of the founders of the Conservative Wafd party?

[Answer] I have enemies in whose interest it would be to oppose the emergence of the Conservative Wafd party with the appropriate show of force. These enemies are currently able to aid in the attempt to impede the establishment of the party, therefore the battle with these enemies makes it necessary to be cautious and not to reveal everything. However I can say that the list of founders includes names which are prominent and distinguished in their places of work, including previous advisors, lawyers, university professors, and a number of journalists, as well as prominent and luminous names among the labor leadership.

[Question] When will you submit the papers for the new party to the political parties affairs committee?

[Answer] Consensus was reached in the preparatory committee to submit notification of establishment to the political parties affairs committee next October in order that the application be processed under particular natural conditions, and because it is not easy to get the political parties affairs committee to meet during the summer break. And if we do not receive a response within 3 months after the papers are submitted, that will mean that the parties committee has rejected the application submitted to it, and in that case we will be forced to resort to legal action.

DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRACY DISCUSSED

London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 17 Aug 84 p 9

[Article by Ihsan 'Abd-al-Quddus: "In What Direction Is Democracy in Egypt Going?"]

[Text] I had said previously that democracy was not merely a school of thought or a principle, but that it was rather a set of rules that defined the attitude of a ruler toward subjects and the attitude of subjects toward a ruler. There are scores of different conflicting systems that are called democratic, even though the degrees of democratic applications in each one of them differ.

In Israel, for example, democracy is manifested exclusively in the free expression of one's opinions and in the organization of parties that express those opinions. Israel's democracy, however, does not include the implementation of those opinions, even if those opinions were the opinions of the majority. Those opinions that are carried out are exclusively those of the highest Zionist body which founded Israel but has not yet been able to complete the unity of its people beyond the fact that they are a Jewish people. Until today, therefore, Israel has existed on the basis of a military dictatorship, despite the fact that opinions may be expressed freely. In other words, freedom in Israel is no more than the freedom to discuss issues, but it is the military establishment that determines the outcome of these discussions.

In Lebanon, democracy has reached the point of dissociation from the state. Sects or even individuals may dissociate themselves from the state. In other words, an individual can prescribe his freedom to the state in the name of democracy. It is this that has caused the state to lose all its governing powers as well as its power to impose its will and its character. Forces in Lebanon have multiplied--there are sectarian forces and individual forces--and they are fighting each other. This situation has persisted and has produced in Lebanon those conditions that exist there today.

Egypt after the 1967 Defeat

After the 1967 defeat Egypt declared that it was shifting toward democracy; that was during the final days of Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir. The principal motive for that had to do with considering the defeat a milestone marking the end of one revolutionary stage and the inevitable beginning of another in which the regime would

still be in power. But Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir did not live long enough to bring about that shift to the other stage. It was Anwar al-Sadat who came to power and who faced that inevitable shift. He was concerned about leading the revolution by holding on to power. In other words, the Revolutionary Command in Egypt had the exclusive right to execute its opinions just as the Zionist command in Israel had that right.

Anwar al-Sadat began [his term in office] while trying to carry out that shift toward the new stage from within the revolutionary organization. He established what he called "platforms" within the Socialist Union Organization, but under popular pressure, however, he was forced to present the new democratic organization in the form of parties. To preserve the continuity of power for the Revolutionary Command, however, al-Sadat established these parties himself and handpicked their leaders so all of them would be under his control. He was the one who reorganized the Wafd Party and permitted Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din to become the president of that party. However, when the Wafd Party began to free itself from the Revolutionary Command and pose a threat to its command, Anwar al-Sadat promptly revoked the party's permit, denied it the right to exist and arrested Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din.

There may have been another underlying motive for democracy in setting up a new stage for the 23 July Revolution. Egyptians may have given up on relying on the Soviet Union, and they may have been on their way back to relying on the United States. When the domestic political organization of a small state is the same as that of a superpower, setting up ties and making deals become easier, and the confidences the two countries share become deeper. The organization that Egypt had was closer to that which exists in the Soviet Union: a one-party organization and a dictatorship. To realize Egypt's interests with a shift to the United States, it was best to change that system so as to give people the freedom to express their opinions and to have multiple parties. Such a change would be better even if it were merely superficial, since democracy was the organizational basis that was employed by the United States.

But then President Husni Mubarak came to power. As I said earlier he was not the product of those political battles that had led to the 23 July Revolution. He had not experienced those battles and did not, therefore, refer to them when making his decisions, as Anwar al-Sadat always did. Therefore, he has been more willing to embark on new experiments, and democracy is one of them. At the same time Mubarak has to hold on tenaciously to the power of the Revolutionary Command even if it were prescribing unusual laws, until he becomes certain that the new experiment is a success.

Democracy has undoubtedly taken on a new and a broader form under Husni Mubarak's administration, that is, in the third stage of the Revolution. However, the democratic change was restricted to the freedom to speak one's mind; it did not include the freedom to organize political parties. The process of organizing political parties is still completely subject to the will of the state. If we look upon the return of the Wafd Party as the restoration of an old party that did in fact exist, [we will then conclude] that the state permitted the organization of only one new party. That party is so weak it might as well be non-existent, even though it does have a permit to exist. The state may have given it that permit because it was certain that it was such a weak party.

Organizations Do Not Represent the Political Community

Therefore, the democratic organizations that have been established do not fully represent Egypt's political community. There is no leftist coalition in the People's Assembly, for example. Even if some members of the People's Assembly have leftist ideas, those members voice those ideas as their own and not in the name of a party or a coalition that they represent. The state may have deliberately placed a leftist in the assembly so that not all assembly members would be rightist. Thus, it chose a member of the leftist Grouping Party and appointed him in the assembly. However, the Grouping Party turned down that appointment and suspended the membership of the individual who accepted that appointment to the People's Assembly.

The leftist tendency is a strong factor in Egypt's political community. Although the Grouping Party is organized in such a way so as to combine all tendencies, including the Marxist tendency, there is another party that is purely Marxist; this is the Egyptian Communist Party. Although the state has been denying that party a permit, which means that it is considered an underground organization, the party does not consider itself to be an underground party or to be working in secret. In fact, its meetings are held openly along with other political activities. This party publishes bulletins as though they were newspapers intended for public distribution. The party unequivocally calls for the unity of the International Communist Movement, that is unity with the Soviet Union, and it calls for the separation of religion from the state. The Egyptian Communist Party also calls openly for all communist principles. In one of its bulletins, the party viewed Egypt's elections in terms of a battle between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Although the political police has been watching this party and arresting its members, who are then set free by the courts, that party is undoubtedly exercising its freedom in a broad way. It has more freedom of action now than it had in al-Sadat's administration. It has more freedom now than it did even during the first stage of the Revolution, during Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir's administration, when communist parties disbanded and joined the Socialist Union.

All this makes us wonder about what Egypt's political community might become. Will the Egyptian Communist Party be given recognition along with the Grouping Party? Will the Egyptian Communist Party be granted a permit that will give it the right to exist, or will it be abolished, even as an underground party? Will the Unionist Grouping Party also be abolished? In other words, will the left be banned and will political activity be restricted to the right?

An Extremist and an Official Right-Wing

Even as far as the right is concerned, the state has not issued a permit to the Muslim Brothers, nor did it grant that group the freedom to publish a newspaper. This is because to the state, the Muslim Brothers represent the extreme right-wing which is far to the right of the official right-wing. This is despite the fact that the Muslim Brothers Organization is an existing organization that has its power within the political world.

I have had an organizational disagreement with the Muslim Brothers ever since

the days of the late Hasan al-Banna. I have been insisting that they organize themselves into a political party because they do in fact represent a political party. They have, however, scorned that notion because they regard advocating the cause of God to be more universal than political restrictions. They have finally, however, admitted facts and allied themselves with the Wafd. Through the elections process they won representatives in the People's Assembly. This means that they consider themselves a party even though they do not admit that. There are now those in their midst who are calling for a separation from the Wafd Party so they can organize their own political party. These Muslim Brothers want to have their own party even if its name were not the Muslim Brothers. Their representatives in the People's Assembly would thus be representing a self-sufficient party, instead of being officially affiliated with the Wafd Party.

What will these developments in democracy lead to? Will the Muslim Brothers be given a permit allowing them to exist as a political party, or will their presence be eliminated? Will the ultra-right and the ultra-left be eliminated and denied official recognition within the democratic organization which represents the real political community of Egypt?

All this is an expression of the questions that are being raised and the pictures that are being evoked when democratic slogans are proclaimed. These are the slogans that are prevalent in Egyptian society.

Democracy, as I said, is not merely a school of thought or a political principle. It can only be measured by those established organizations that define the interaction between the ruler and the subjects.

8592

CSO: 4504/447

FREE ZONES DUTIES STILL VICTIMIZE CONSUMER

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 11 Sep 34 p 9

[Article by Muhammad Abu al-Shahud: "One Year After Subjecting Free Zone Goods to Duties at the Source; Customs: the Decision Achieved Its Objectives, Consumer Still Victim of Dealers' Greed"]

[Text] A year has passed since the issuance of the decision subjecting a number of goods coming into Port Sa'id to customs duties at the source. A review of the reasons for this decision reveals that the overriding one was to protect local products from foreign competition, especially those products that are easy to smuggle from Port Sa'id for dumping on the local market. This in turn upsets the price balance between them and the local products, a losing competition due to unequal opportunity. This is in addition to the fact that the government was losing revenue from customs duties on most of those smuggled goods. Moreover, the ease with which they can be smuggled enticed many of the inhabitants of neighboring governorates to form smuggling networks that marred the free zone experience and produced a bad behavioral phenomenon that impaired social life in and around the governorate.

Those were the reasons that prefaced the decision and were behind the choice of goods included in its list. Before we get a clarification from Ramadan Mustfa, Director General of Port Sa'id Customs, about the decision's positive results and returns in one year, and glancing at the Port Sa'id markets, we perceive the failure of this decision in at least one objective. Instead of cutting down on the number of smugglers by decreasing the number of easily-smuggled imported goods, we find them, along with a large number of dealers in those goods, have turned into grounds for smuggling in the rest of the goods in larger and more varied operations. These remaining goods cannot be subjected to duties because tens of thousands of Port Sa'id families make their living at selling them to tourists, perhaps with the exception of a few high-priced commodities not sold at street corners and in stalls such as eye glass frames, lighters and high-priced shoes. It is noted here that the industrialization field has no room presently for those unemployed because officials have not fulfilled their promise to grant enough facilities for industrial projects!

Therefore, the lesson that can be learned from the practice of deleting some commodities from the duty free list is that, in order to guarantee the success

of the free zone and to secure the future of half a million citizens, the Port Sa'id inhabitants, control measures must be developed and intensified at custom outlets and the city's boundaries and duty collection methods standardized, instead of deleting more commodities. This notwithstanding, Ramadan Mustafa, Director General of Customs, believes that the practice of "deletion" has great benefits. Before going into these benefits, he offered a numerical study comparing the volume and value of these imported commodities for the year that preceded the decision (it was issued in July, 1983) with the year following the decision. He said: "In the year preceding the decision, 2,570,000 pounds worth of watches, watch bands and watch jewels were imported and smuggled without paying duty on them. In the following year, this amount fell to only 558,000 pounds on which duties were paid! The estimated value of imports in the year preceding the decision was about 555,000 pounds, which fell to 287,000 pounds in the following year. The difference used to slip through without custom duties, but the government is now collecting duties on it. Video tapes, camera and equipment used to be imported at a cost of 3 million pounds, which dropped to 742,000 pounds on which full duties were paid. Duties collected on these kinds of commodities before the decision were insignificant and did not in any way correspond to the value of the huge volume of imports. Gilded paper and crewelwork imports for the year preceding the decision amounted to 604,000 pounds and dropped, following the decision, to 158,000 pounds, on which duties were paid." The significance that the director general derives from this statistical comparison is that the government has raised considerable revenue from customs duties, has closed many smuggling loopholes and has forced dealers to limit their imports to the city's needs for non-basic goods. Therefore, it is neither possible nor profitable for them to smuggle goods laden with duty charges to be sold at prices comparable to what is offered in the markets of Cairo and other governorates.

Ramadan Mustafa goes farther than that when he says: "Even the dealer's profit margin on these goods has become reasonable and dealers are now able to sell them at competitive prices. Take the video, for example, Port Sa'id dealers used to sell it for about 1,600 pounds. Now, they are offering it for about 1,250 pounds. So, did the difference of 350 pounds represent the amount of custom duties due to it which he did not have to pay before the decision?" He answers: "Naturally, the fee was much higher but the difference found its way to the dealer's pockets. Now that he has to pay duties, he dropped his price of the video to just about what it cost in Cairo, thus cutting down on his profit. Furthermore, dealers of electric appliances or heavy commodities that were difficult to smuggle in used to take advantage of Port Sa'id buyers who bought them because their price was lower than the Cairo price, for example. This dealer-consumer relationship still exists with regard to the other duty-free commodities. Port Sa'id citizens do not have anyone to protect them from such insanely high prices and no one is forcefully adopting a serious call for enforcing Law 119 in Port Sa'id despite the fact that it suffers more than anyone else from dealers greed."

The director general of customs goes on to talk about another benefit of the July, 1983 decision to subject a number of commodities to duties at the source, by saying. "The imposition of duties at the source of a commodity such as car tires that cost about one million pounds per year to import, forced dealers

to lower their import volume to about 300,000 pounds, just enough for Port Sa'id cars, thus freeing local production from the burden of competition."

Ramadan Mustafa corroborates his presentation of the positive aspects by pointing to the volume of dealers' imports of auto spare parts and equipment, including recorders, batteries, antennas and air conditioners. He says: "The total amount of imports for the year preceding the decision was about 6 million pounds which dropped to only 3 million pounds for the following year. This means a savings of 3 million pounds worth of imports that used to be smuggled in, and the government reaps the benefit of duties levied on the present volume of imports. There are also other outrageous commodities such as the high-cost shoes, frames and eye glasses and lighters which are still being smuggled in but do not benefit the small dealers due to their highly-inflated prices"!

Here, Abu Bey al-Sadiq, People's Assembly member and member of the free city [i.e., Port Sa'id] board of directors, picks up the conversation. He disagrees with the director of customs by emphasizing that the July, 1983 decision was a partial abolition of the free zones that created a great number of jobless persons and smugglers, brought about a measure of economic instability which is behind the higher prices and when the dealers' greed because of their uncertainty about the future and about what other abolition decisions it may bring. It also bred reluctance among businessmen to set up needed factories to take in the large number of jobless persons. He adds: "The positive and useful rationalization of the experience must be brought up for serious debate among all the concerned parties to discuss viable alternatives for making the free city experience a success and for consolidating and developing it, especially since plans for such alternatives have already been studied and are ready. The most important of these alternatives are the liberalization of imports and the enforcement of Law 119 which we have agreed to observe in Port Sa'id. We sent out recommendations to the minister of supply some years ago and are still awaiting his reply or even his opinion. Lowering dealers' profits to a reasonable level is bound to contribute to ending the present recession and to propel the experience to new successes.

"The encounter I am proposing to all sides will inevitably settle the problem of the multiplicity of sides that issue special decisions regulating the free zone activities, in the wake of ongoing violations by the Customs Authority that single-handedly issues provocative decisions against the interests of importers and consumers alike in clear violation of Law 12 for 1977 that stipulates in Article 5 that 'the board of directors of the free zone is the dominant authority over all its affairs and conduct of business and has the right to adopt any necessary resolutions to achieve the goals for which it was set up.' This right has not been exercised effectively by the board throughout the past years. The unfortunate thing is that these constant violations of the law reflect negatively on the city's activities. Perhaps the legislator of Law 12 for 1977 anticipated such attempts and violations since he stipulated in Article 26 that 'violations of the provisions of this law of its implementing regulations or of any other resolutions for its implementation are punishable by a fine not less than 5 pounds and not more than 1,000 pounds.'

This stipulation may be applied to violations by the Customs Authority that mixed up the jurisdictions and gave itself a hand in running the free zone, a role basically entrusted to the zone's board of directors. Dealers were seriously thinking of filing a class action suit with; the board chairman against the Customs Authority. Such repeated clashes are one reason why the free zone experience has been shaky. In conclusion, I believe that all sides must respect the law for regulating the free zone, which is better than taking the easy way out through deletion and abolition resolutions that threaten to render the whole city's population homeless and to negatively influence and shake Egypt's economic policy."

12502

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INCREASED TRADE RELATIONS BETWEEN EGYPT, TURKEY

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 4 Aug 84 p 13

[Article by Muhammad Pasha: "Rise in Volume of Commercial Exchange by 150 Million Dollars"]

[Text] Increased understanding and rapprochement, as well as growing political relations between Egypt and Turkey, are reflected in the economic relations between the two countries in which this year's volume of trade is expected to reach \$150 million. This is about three times the volume of 1980, which amounted to \$55.7 million. However, it is also certain that this volume in trade is not at all commensurate with the diverse capabilities of each of the two countries and their proximity.

Efforts certainly have been made and are being made in this area, the foremost of which are the current negotiations to study the initiation of a shipping line between the two countries' ports, the setting up of banking cooperation between them, and joint cooperation among construction companies. It is also certain that there is a set of factors which requires solutions to support this cooperation, the foremost of which are simple solutions which can be adopted to achieve this goal, especially since the Turkish market is in need of many export items which are available in Egypt. The new import system in Turkey has given many advantages to importing.

What then are the features of these relations between the two countries, and what are the factors which must be dealt with to promote and increase these relations?

In response to our first question, Mu'awwad al-Sayyid al-Khuli, first commercial secretary in the Egyptian Embassy in Ankara, says: "Trade exchange between Egypt and Turkey is governed by the provisions of the commercial agreement concluded between the two countries in 1976 which stipulates that exchanges between them will be accomplished in free currencies. This is the second agreement between the two countries; the first agreement dealt with the regulation of trade relations between them and was a trade and payments agreement. However, it was abrogated because Egypt's imports from Turkey exceeded its exports to Turkey. Anyone who follows this progress of trade finds that there has been a noticeable growth in volume. An indication of this is what occurred from 1980 to the first third of 1984 when we find that

reached \$55.7 million in 1980, \$75 million in 1981, and \$145.6 million in 1982, and then fell to \$95.1 million in 1983. Then it rose again and it is expected to reach \$150 million by the end of this year, having reached \$51.8 million dollars between January and April of 1984."

We now come to the response to our question regarding factors which promote these relations and which we divide into two sets. The first consists of factors for which practical procedures have begun to be adopted as solutions. The second set consists of factors in need of study for solutions.

Regarding the factors for which solutions have been found, Mu'awwad al-Khuli says that they will contribute to a large extent to the increased cooperation between the two countries. They are embodied in four basic factors.

1. The nature of the import system in Turkey which was in effect up to December 1983. This was restrictive, since it made importing the exception and not the rule. The solution which became effective last January brought in a new system which freed many import commodities. This gave additional opportunities for Egyptian items to be exported to Turkish markets. A study by our commercial office in Ankara indicates that the requirements of this market include caustic soda, phosphate, coke, sodium bicarbonate, raw glycerine, rice, medicinal plants and seeds, ammonia and ammonia nitrate.
2. A shortage of factors facilitating this exchange, such as regular shipping lines between both countries' ports and cooperation in banking between them. The solution began through negotiations which are now under way between the two countries to study the initiation of a shipping line and the setting up of banking cooperation which will permit the establishment of bank branches in both countries and the exchange of banking correspondents. This will help facilitate banking operations and consequently reduce the actual costs of the items. This makes them more competitive in the markets. The Turkish delegation which visited Cairo recently reached agreement with the National Bank and the Bank of Alexandria on the exchange of banking correspondents. In addition, negotiations are going on to establish joint contracting companies to implement projects in both countries or in other countries.
3. Egyptian commodities need to be distributed in Turkey's markets. The first step has begun which needs additional support; this is Egypt's participation in the Izmir International Fair, which is held from 20 August to 15 September. Our commercial office succeeded in achieving this after Egypt's nonparticipation since 1974.
4. The capabilities of our commercial office and its direct relations with Turkish authorities, businessmen and company representatives must be utilized, and it must be furnished on a regular basis with full descriptions of Egyptian-produced goods which are available for export. We succeeded in this step because the arrival of some reports from the commercial representation in Cairo led to Turkey's importation of a number of Egyptian commodities such as rice, aluminum, cotton textiles and certain other chemical products.

The Role Needed to Promote Egyptian Exports

As for the second set of factors which need action by our agencies and our officials in order to find urgently needed solutions for them, they are embodied in the following:

--We should take advantage of the new Turkish import system and additions should be made to the list of numerous commodities which may be imported-- which has been prepared by our commercial office headed by Mu'awwad al-Khuli. Moreover, what is available for export must be provided.

--The Egyptian Export Development Center must adopt a plan of action to develop and support these exports to Turkish markets and raise the consciousness of the private sector about its patriotic role in increasing Egyptian exports without limiting its activities just to import activities. This naturally is the same role required of the General Federation of Chambers of Commerce and the specialized chambers under it, especially following the establishment of the Egyptian-Turkish Joint Chamber (of Commerce) which resulted in an increase in the activity of delegations of businessmen. The first signs of reaching agreements between them began although, regrettably, Egyptian private sector businessmen stopped going to Turkey just at the point of obtaining trade agencies for a large number of commodities. At the same time this sector neglected its essential role in the development of Egyptian exports to Turkey for which its close contact with and its knowledge of the people there qualifies it.

Study of Trading of Public Sector Commodities in Both Countries

Negotiations must be held between officials in both countries in order to reach agreement on an equal exchange of some commodity items from public sector production in both countries. Solutions must also be found to create capabilities to permit banking facilities to finance commercial exchange between the two countries.

Finally, it can be said briefly that the requirements of the Turkish market for several Egyptian commodities and the new economic reform measures which have been decreed by the Ozal government, the foremost of which is the encouragement of exports and imports, and also the requirements of Egyptian markets for Turkish commodities at the very time of increased growth in Egyptian exports are all matters which can increase the volume of commercial exchange between the two countries so as to achieve the interests of each one. It is important and desirable that we take other steps now that we have taken steps which led to that point where the volume of trade is expected to amount to more than \$150 million at the end of this year after it was \$55.7 million only four years ago.

6945

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NEW PROTECTIONS FROM FOREIGN COMPETITION FOR LOCAL COMPANIES

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 8 Aug 84 p 9

[Article by 'Abd-al-Jawad 'Ali: "Protecting Local Goods From Foreign Competition"]

[Text] The People's Assembly Committee on Industry, chaired by committee head Dr Faruq Jaranah, has requested protection for Egyptian goods from unfair competition from similar imported goods, linking production plans with marketing in order to prevent excess inventory buildup, speeding up the process of restocking and turnover, linking incentives with production in terms of both quality and quantity, setting an economical price to cover actual production costs, giving marketing priority to local production as long as it conforms to specifications and the world price, and changing the support policy so that it is for the consumer rather than for the producer. The committee also recommended that field studies be conducted for each item before it is produced so that products do not accumulate year after year, that marketing agencies be supported with economic units, and that the problem of the rising rate of damaged goods be addressed.

Engineering Industries:

The industry's production needs should be exempt from all customs duties in order to reduce costs while achieving quality production. An effort should be made to utilize idle productive capacity by providing production requirements and coordination among purchasing, production and storage policies. Machines in the companies of this sector should be upgraded in order to eliminate equipment breakdowns in some production lines for long periods of time throughout the year as a result of obsolescence. The trained technical workforce should be increased as well. Moreover, a study should be made of the problem of the rising rate of damaged goods in these companies and norms should be established for this rate; those responsible should be held accountable when damage exceeds this rate, and whatever is needed should be provided so that this rate will not rise.

The Chemical Industries:

The financing structures of the companies of these industries should be corrected and inventory accumulation must end. This requires a precise system of production and quality inspection at the various stages of production. The

necessary equipment for this must be provided and there should be a link between production quality and quantity and wage levels. There must be an effort to implement investment projects on time. Moreover, we should find appropriate solutions to enable the economic units in the public sector to obtain on a priority basis whatever is due them, and review the current subsidy policy for fixed-price goods so that there is an opportunity for the producing units to work on sound economic bases and cover the actual costs of production plus a moderate profit margin.

Mineral Industries:

The Ministry of Industry must study idle capacity. The treasury should make up the losses of companies of this sector because these are outside their control since selling prices are fixed while the prices of production needs are inevitably increasing as are wages and the prices of other services. This should continue until a firm policy is established to provide a basic solution to these problems. These companies should activate collection agencies and endeavor to solve the problem of debts between the companies of this sector and the administrative agencies.

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that that framework could be any plan that all the parties could agree to, another official, Dr Usamah al-Baz, stated that Egypt had always supported the convening of an international conference in which all parties would participate. Egypt supports that notion even though it knows that there are no indications that such a conference would be held before at least 1 year. Egypt also knows that recent Soviet proposals had defined the method of operations for the conference.

Speaking of the Soviet Union and of relations between Moscow and Cairo, President Mubarak declared that the Soviet Union was the second superpower in the world and that it would not be reasonable to ignore it.

What still remains to be discussed is the subject of Egypt's movement toward the Arabs. Once again Dr 'Isamat 'Abd-al-Majid defined the characteristics of this movement by announcing that any damage to Egypt's relations with the Arab countries was to be considered temporary. He said that Egypt's relations with the Arab world could not be thwarted.

In recent statements, however, President Mubarak has declared that unless the Arab nation unifies its ranks and spurns disputes, it will be lost. The president said that if the Arab nation remains divided, Israel's position will not change because it is the primary beneficiary of this division.

Although this quick listing of the central points in Egypt's present diplomatic activity outlines the characteristics of this activity, it does emphasize that Egypt has begun regaining its vigor in traditional foreign circles which are known to Arab and international communities and to the non-aligned countries as well. These characteristics also affirm the Egyptian politician's description of the present status of Camp David. They affirm that the present status of the Camp David agreement is not that which Washington, even more than Tel Aviv, had sought.

8592

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LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS ANALYZED, REPORTED

Paris LE MONDE in French 13, 15, 16-17, 18 Sep 84

[Series of articles by Paul Balta]

[13 Sep 84 p 5]

[Text] For the first time since independence, 12 parties are participating in a legislative election. There were nine in 1977 and four in 1963, though one was a front combining several small parties. Seven organizations are presenting candidates at the national level in more than 150 districts out of 199:

- National Rally of Independents (RNI) (moderate opposition, established in 1978);
- Constitutional Union (UC)(government majority, 1983);
- Istiqlal Party (nationalist, 1944);
- Socialist Union of Popular Forces (USFP) (party born of a split in the National Union of Popular Forces, in opposition in 1975, until its recent association with the government);
- Popular Movement (Berber, 1958);
- National Democratic Party (PND) (result of a split of the RNI in 1981);
- Party of Progress and Socialism (PPS) (communist, opposition, 1974).

Five organizations are only presenting a few candidates:

- Popular Democratic Constitutional Movement (MPCD) (right, 1967);
- Democratic and Popular Action Organization (OADP)(leftist movement including extremists of the PPS and USFP, 1983);
- Action Party (center left, 1974);
- National Union and Solidarity Party (centrist, 1982);
- Democratic Independence Party (rightwing nationalist, 1946).

Rabat--Having begun officially on Saturday, 1 September, the electoral campaign for the legislative elections will end on Thursday the 13th, on the

eve of the elections. In fact, the political parties have only had 4 days for full-scale convincing of the electorate at the national level, through the television speeches of the representatives of the eight political parties with largest representation out of the 12 in the arena.

In fact, since 13 August the people's attention has been completely engrossed by the "marriage" between Morocco and Libya, presented as the grand plan of King Hassan, and by the referendum on 1 September that overwhelmingly endorsed the birth of the Arab-African Union. Since the 2d was a holiday, the parties began to assemble their forces on Monday the 3d, while the Rabat-Tripoli axis, creating a balance to the Tunis-Algiers-Nouakchott alliance, continued to occupy attention and serve as the topic of all conversations. Then, on Thursday the 6th, Aid el Adha was observed, the feast of sacrifice or feast of the sheep, which began a long 4-day weekend not conducive to organizing.

Of course, that did not prevent the parties from holding meetings and the candidates from carrying on intensive door-to-door activity, but it was in a context made more difficult by the accidents of the calendar and by the king's game. For 2 weeks, the leaders of all the political organizations, in their own style certainly, but with a fine unanimity, had appealed to the people to unite behind the royal project, which was overwhelmingly approved. Then, each resuming his own concerns, they returned to the campaign to defend their own party's colors--literally and figuratively, because the ballots are a different color for each organization--and affirm their individuality.

The opposition movements also had the task, without giving the impression of contradicting themselves, of revealing and explaining their disagreement with the government on democracy and economic development. In the urban areas, the electors, more politicized, can quite well make the distinction between the logic of the referendum and that of the legislative elections, however, in the rural areas--often traditional supporters of the throne--the opposition has more difficulty making itself understood, and, at any rate, finds itself compelled to keep its criticism at a level that excludes excesses.

Political circles note also that there will be major celebrations, to be televised, in Fes on 15 and 16 September--a few hours after announcement of the results--on the occasion of the marriage of Princess Maryam, elder daughter of Hassan II, to the son of the information minister, Abdelatif Filali, and the daughter of Princess Aicha, the king's sister, to the son of Youssef Belabbes, ambassador to Paris. According to a very ancient tradition of the Sherifian throne, the celebration of these royal unions will be accompanied by popular marriages, in the palace itself and according to local customs, of 250 couples of all social classes and from all the regions, so that the whole nation will be involved in the festivity. In this context, any protests by party leaders regarding possible fraud in the elections may well pass unnoticed. However, the authorities are assuring that legality will be respected and that no one will have cause to complain.

Concerns about Fraud

Indeed, all the organizations have expressed their concerns about reoccurrence of the serious irregularities that they say marked the June 1983 municipal

elections and of which the main beneficiary was the UC party. The haste with which the latter was established at the instigation of the government, a few weeks before the election, by the then prime minister, Maati Bouabid, had earned him the title "pressure cooker."

The first to describe this election as a "mascarade," the Istiqlal Party (nationalist) has demanded neutrality by the administration, with, say its opponents, "as much force as it has lost momentum." In any case, its organ L'OPINION affirms in the headline that daily spans its rose-colored front page--the party color--"Clean Elections, Credible Institutions, a Strong Morocco," and asserts also that the organization of Allal El Fassi, the architect of independence, has bolstered its ranks.

The USFP of Abderrahim Bouabid, the main victim of the irregularities along with Istiqlal, is also combative and is affirming its refusal of being forced to operate "between pressure and repression." "Only honest elections can give credibility to Moroccan democracy," we were told by Mehdi Alaoui, who has lived in exile in France for several years.

A third victim of the administrative arbitrariness, the PPS (communist) is waging the same battle.

The leaders of its various organizations, including Ali Yata, the PPS secretary general, told us that thus far they have not really had cause to complain. They hope that this will continue to be true for the vote, in accordance with Hassan II's recommendations in September 1983 and again in November: declaring himself in favor of an honest poll, he expressed hope that "the coming legislative elections will not be characterized by any bias on the part of the administration."

The future chamber of representatives--the fourth since independence 28 years ago--will have 306 seats, including 204 by direct suffrage, and the others selected by various electoral colleges such as communal and social-occupational.

Role of Emigration

For the first time, emigrants will be able to exercise their right to vote, and some 1.5 million electors will choose five representatives in Europe and America. Among the 58 candidates running is Akka Ghazi (USFP), the "shock trade unionist" of the Citroen plants, and Mustapha Ouazzani (Istiqlal), the promoter of teaching Arabic to children of Maghreb workers in France. Only a few years ago, half of the Moroccan working class was in France, and the government, no doubt afraid that those that this group elected would swell the opposition ranks, preferred not to give them access to the urns. Today, the three parties of the "National Movement" (Istiqlal, USFP and PPS) are overjoyed at this innovation for which they had pressed.

It should also be noted that out of the 1,366 campaigning for the 199 seats for Morocco itself, there are 16 women, of whom eight are running for the parties of the left and three for Istiqlal. Certainly this is not very many,

but in 1977 there were only two. Another new development: contrary to the practice in the past, the king has announced that any candidate must belong to one of the "legal political organizations." This decision appears to be aimed at preventing the candidacy, among others, of the Islamists. It will also tend to persuade certain independent figures, such as Salah Mexili, the "strong man" of Souss, Ahmed Belhaj, minister of relations with Parliament, or Jo Ohanna, Israeli and former colleague of Mehdi Ben Barka, condemned to 20 years' imprisonment then pardoned by the king, to join the UC.

On the policy level, all the parties are stressing the need to correct the economic situation, which is very worrying. Ahmed Osman, former prime minister and president of the National Rally of Independents, said in Fes: "This objective is related to rectification of the administration and the struggle against corruption, nepotism and bureaucracy."

Other leaders elaborated the same themes. "It was high time," a USFP leader confided to us ironically, adding: "These parties are responsible for the current situation, since they were in power. When we were in power, we were the first to draw attention to the seriousness of the situation, to call on everyone to participate in the national effort, and to propose thorough reforms. We were made to pay dearly for that." However, since they have been associated with the latest government, the socialists have moved from the "refusal front" to realism, and they are hoping that their representation in Parliament will reflect their audience in the country and give the vote a credibility that it has not always had in the past.

[15 Sep 84 p 3]

[Text] Rabat--Some 7 million Moroccans are going to the polls this Friday, 14 September, to directly elect 199 deputies "from Tangier to La Guerra" (extreme south), as the press emphasizes, while the "Moroccan identity of the Saharan provinces" is vigorously reaffirmed by all the candidates.

Ali Yata, secretary general of the PPS (communist) and the only former elected representative of this opposition organization, who has always complained of having been the victim of election fraud, did not hesitate to reaffirm in his television speech Tuesday evening* that the election campaign has taken place "in a healthy atmosphere and marked by administration neutrality." Istiqlal, the only one of the parties that did not share this opinion, on Thursday condemned "the more than alarming proliferation of violations, irregularities and antidemocratic practices." In fact, the campaign took place without any significant incident, in rather dull fashion. However, the dullness was an event: it marked a turning point in the country's political life and crowned Hassan II's strategy toward the parties since his accession to power.

* Finally, contrary to what officials told us, it was nine and not eight out of 12 party leaders who spoke on television, since on the last day, to the surprise of the political world, the Popular Democratic Constitutional Movement was authorized to do so.

Preeminence of the Throne

Indeed, the king has not rested in seeking to establish in fact, and without sharing it, the preeminence of the throne and his own role: it is he who assumes and establishes the national destiny and who implements the objectives he has established at the time and in the way that he judges to be opportune. To the parties falls the role of participation, even services: carrying out the king's policy, serving the major national objectives, and managing in the best possible way the daily tasks.

This made confrontations inevitable between the young monarch and the old parties of the "National Movement" (mainly Istiqlal, the UNFP, which had become the USFP, the Popular Movement and the Communist Party, under its various successive titles) that had led the liberation struggle and that dominated the political scene after the country's independence. Of the three parliaments elected in 1963, 1970 and 1977, only the last completed its term. This in itself was evidence that Hassan II had imposed his deal of the cards while leading the institutional process under conditions of normality.

The king's play consisted primarily in allowing the parties to multiply and even to assist their birth or to encourage splitting of those that became both too strong and too independent. In this he was aiming at four objectives: to use what one might call the "king's party"--equivalent to the French presidential majority in the Fifth Republic, to downgrade the historic organizations of the "National Movement," to enable new social elements formed after independence to better express their individuality, and to favor the emergence of a more professional and less partisan political class. This is what the fact of 135 outgoing deputies offers.

More Open Debate

At the same time that he has been putting the parties in their place, Hassan II has been making gestures in the direction of greater democracy. The vigilance of the parties has enabled the deletion, finally, of 120,000 deceased voters from the election rolls and promoted registration of 500,000 young people, while the electoral districts have been redrawn so that there will be approximately one deputy per 100,000 people. Political prisoners have been freed. Despite the silence of the local press about the death of hunger strikers, foreign papers that did report it were sold in Morocco. New publications have appeared during the past few months, and the diversity of opinion pronounced before and during the election campaign was in contrast to the conformism prevailing in almost all the Arab countries.

It is in this context that the candidates of the various parties competed. The debate produced a particular contest between the UC and the USFP, the parties with the clearest positions, the parties which are most contrasting and the most divergent (with the exception of the PPS and the Organization for Democratic and Popular Action). Maati Bouabid, founder of the UC, told us: "We are the first and only party to have publicly stated and without reservations that we support private enterprise. It is the best means of making enterprises profitable and combatting bureaucracy, the father of corruption and parasitism." Certainly his views correspond to the

urgent recommendations of the IMF, whose advice cannot be ignored by a country with a significant, if not considerable, debt.

For its part, the USFP seems to be no longer calling for new nationalizations, as it did in the past. However, if it does enter the future government, it will work to oppose denationalizations and to make the public sector profitable. The rivalry of the two parties derives also from the fact that both convey a modernist line, run young candidates, and that the UC--the party of private sector managers and liberal professionals--has also recruited many of them in the university, which until now had been the uncontested preserve of the USPS.

The RNI, officially established in 1978 by Ahmed Osman, brother-in-law of the king and then prime minister, had an absolute majority in Parliament with 140 seats. Recruiting among businessmen and high officials in the administration, it was unable to maintain its advantage. Interpersonal quarrels divided it, giving birth to the PND, further to the right.

Istiqlal, a prestigious party from which several organizations have emerged, lives to a considerable degree on its past. The other organizations criticize it for not renewing itself, a charge that it disputes. Recruiting its members from among the traditional bourgeoisie, among craftsmen and farmers, it represents the element of Arabism and Islam. In this respect, it has an essential role to play in opposing the integrist wave, as long as it shows itself to be dynamic.

"God, Country, King"

At the other extreme, also prestigious though short of troops, is the Communist Party, established some 40 years ago, which has often changed its name after being banned. Paradoxically, it has more supporters among the students and intellectuals than in the working class, and its opponents believe that it has made quite an achievement by presenting candidates in 60 districts.

As long as one respects the country's motto--"God, Country, and King"--and a certain consensus, one can, if not say anything one likes, at least express opposing opinions. That is what the government intended by authorizing the Democratic and Popular Action Organization, which draws the young radicals who have come from the USFP and the PPS. Its candidates do support "the national cause of recovery of the Sahara provinces," while members close to them on the ideological level but who support the Polisario Front, or who since the beginning of the conflict have simply envisaged a self-determination referendum, thus out in front of the king, have been in prison or in exile.

While awaiting the results of the polls, political strategists predict the winners in the following order: UC, RNI, USFP, Istiqlal, then, no doubt, the Popular Movement (Berber) of Mr Aherdane, but they do not venture to predict the finishing order of the other seven organizations. However, everyone is in agreement on one point even before announcement of the results: Hassan II will be the main winner in these elections.

[16-17 Sep 84 p 3]

[Text] Rabat--"The young cadres of the UC have their future before them. I am pleased at the initial results, which are full of promise." It was 1330 hours, on Saturday 15 September, when Maati Bouabid, former prime minister, made this statement on television in announcing his party's victory. He was preceded by Ali Yata, secretary general of the PPS (communist), who "deplored the intervention by some local administrations and a number of irregularities."

The Moroccan television viewers had the privilege of a "first": direct and "live" comment by two party leaders who had just been reelected, as well as election results given on the little screen throughout the night.

At that hour, it was also known that most of their counterparts had also "made it": Abderrahim Bouabid, first secretary of the USFP, Ahmed Osman (RNI), Mohammed Boucetta (Istiqlal), Mahjoub Ahardane (Popular Movement), and Arslane Jadidi (PND). The first victory announced on television was that of Khartri Ould Joumani, former president of the Jemaa of Spanish Sahara, born at Smara, who this time chose to run at Rissani, the cradle of the Alawite dynasty, where he obtained... 100 percent of the vote. The symbol was clear: this tribal leader had implicitly reaffirmed his oath of allegiance to the Sherifian throne.

Several other results also had particular significance. For example, the victory of Mr Karchaoui, former editor-in-chief of AL MOHARRIR (Liberation), the organ of the USFP, who had spent several months in prison after suspensions of the paper following the Casablanca riots in 1981. Likewise, that of Jo Ohanna, Israeli and former colleague of Ben Barka, who had joined the UC. Also, the fact that the Democratic and Popular Action Organization won a seat will give leftists "who oppose neither the monarchic principle nor recovery of the Saharan provinces" the chance to make their voice heard. On the other hand, the defeat of Mr Ghallab, outgoing deputy and minister and regarded as the ideologue of Istiqlal (for a long time he was chief editor of the daily AL ALAM), will be felt strongly by that party, which has lost ground by almost 50 percent compared to the legislative elections of 1977, when it won 46 seats.

At 0500 hours, while cars wound through the streets of Rabat blowing their horns to hail the victory of the elected, the results of 178 districts out of 189 had already reached the Ministry of Interior, making it possible to broadly sketch the profile of the fourth parliament elected for 6 years by 7.5 million Moroccans. Then, at 0700 hours, the final distribution of seats was learned.

65-Percent Participation

As expected, the UC came out well ahead with 55 seats, and the forthcoming selection of a third of the Chamber of Representatives by indirect suffrage should enable it to further improve its score. There followed RNI with 38, USFP 34 (double the total in 1977), Popular Movement 3, followed by Istiqlal 23, PND 15, DPF [as published] with two instead of one, and OADP one.

Minister of Interior Driss Basri was scheduled to announce the percentages and discuss the final results at a press conference late Saturday morning. Immediately afterward, he was to leave Rabat for the Ifrane royal palace, near Fes, where the festivities will continue until Monday evening for the wedding of Princess Myriam, elder daughter of Hassan II, and of 250 couples from all regions of the country.

Friday, which was hot and sunny, was not a holiday (Sunday is always the weekly day off) and the government had appealed to employers to facilitate voting by workers. Having approved the Libyan union by more than 97 percent, Moroccans showed a lower turnout in electing their representatives. The turnout was about 65 percent, compared to 82.36 percent in 1977. However, the parties had not directed efforts to discourage people from voting.

The candidates had put posters on the walls around the voting places in the color of their party, with large portraits, to assure that those who could not read would not confuse them with their opponents. In the voting places we visited, the observers appointed by the parties to watch the voting operation concluded that it was proceeding correctly, however, some leaders here and there charged irregularities and pressure by local administrations. In the school hallways, long lines of women, some with baby on back, waited to go into the booth. The number of men was greater at lunch hour. There was an impression that young people were shunning the ballot box, at least in Rabat and Sale.

[18 Sep 84 p 4]

[Text] Rabat (AFP)--The official results of the legislative elections held on Friday, 14 September, were as follows:

Registered voters	7,414,846
Voting	4,999,646
Turnout	67.43 percent
Valid votes	4,443,004

Distribution of seats:		Percent
Constitutional Union (UC)	55	27.63
National Rally of Independents (RNI)	38	19.08
Socialist Union of Popular Forces (USFP)	34	17.08
Popular Movement (MP)	31	15.57
Istiqlal Party (PI)	23	11.55
National Democratic Party (PND)	15	7.53
Party pf Progress and Socialism (PPS)	2	1.00
Democratic & Popular Action Organization	1	0.50

Four organizations did not win any seats: Popular Democratic Constitutional Movement (MPDC), Action Party (PA), Democratic Independence Party (PDI), and National Union and Solidarity Party (PUSN).

9920

CS0: 4519/252

BRIEFS

PETROLEUM COMPANY ESTABLISHED--Khartoum, 24 Sep (SUNA)--The president of the republic, Ja'far Muhammad Numayri today attended the signing of an agreement whereby a new national Sudanese petroleum company was founded. The contract on founding the new company was signed between the Sudanese Government and Segma Company, subsidiary of International Triad Consortium. Energy and Mining Minister Muhammad al'Sharif al-Tuhami signed for Sudan while the Saudi businessman 'Adnan al-Khashuqi signed for Segma company. The capital of the company will be halved between the two sides. Following the signature of the agreement the minister said: Under this agreement the company will assume all activities pertinent to developing the petroleum sector in prospect fields. The activities well would cover commercial operations including installing of refineries and transport companies and financing the petroleum sector, he added. The founding of the company would give an advanced momentum to the oil sector in Sudan he said. Al-Tuhami expressed his hope that the new founded company would achieve its goals. [Text] [JN242030 Khartoum SUNA in English 1810 GMT 24 Sep 84]

CSO: 4599/7

TUNISIA

PRIME MINISTER MOHAMED MZALI DISCUSSES FREEDOM, RESPONSIBILITY

Tunis AL-SABAH in Arabic 8, 9 Aug 84

[Interview with Mohamed Mzali, Prime Minister of Tunisia, by Abu Ziyen al-Sa'di:
"In an Interview with AL-SABAH and AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT Mzali Discusses Man, Freedom, Responsibility: 'The Time Has Come for Citizens To Assume Their Responsibilities and To Tackle Choices in a Spirit of Patriotism; We Are Determined To Stay on Course To Bring about the Success of the Democratic Experiment'"]

[8 Aug 84 p 3]

[Text] It's been 4 years since Mr Mohamed Mzali became prime minister. Many people in Tunisia and elsewhere feel they have a right to ask about the outcome of this experience and about Mr Mzali's outlook for the next stage after President Habib Bourguiba's announcement of having full confidence in his prime minister and in all the actions he had taken and called for, particularly the daring plan for democracy and the proclamation of multiple parties.

An interview with Mohamed Mzali is an activity that always demands diversity and comprehensiveness: an interview with Mzali is an interview with a major thinker and author who has been a well-known figure of Arab culture for 30 years. Mr Mzali is known from his magazine, AL-FIKR [Thought]; he is known from newspapers, periodicals and [other] magazines, and he is known for his numerous books on a variety of intellectual, social, political and literary subjects. In general, it may be said that he is a man with a certain congruous philosophy that he has been setting forth for some time. Mr Mzali has always been able to defend his philosophy successfully. The experiences he has had outside government and in government have only served to heighten his adherence to this philosophy and strengthen his conviction in its particulars and its premises.

It is for this reason that our interview with Mr Mzali had numerous implications and went into different directions. We talked about politics and the experience he has had in government; the relationship between intellectuals and power; the notion of democracy and the justifications for it in Tunisia and elsewhere; and the nature of the relationship that governs his government's policy toward fellow Arabs in the East and in the Arab Maghreb. We were seeking a definition of Mr Mzali's intellectual and political positions regarding the kinds of internal unity that emerged in the Arabian Gulf, in the basin of the Nile Valley and in the countries of the Arab Maghreb. We wanted to know how all that was

related to the universal Arab unity which everyone has been seeking. We also talked about literature, thought and culture. We talked about the role that Taha Husayn, the dean of Arab letters, played in Arab culture. Mr Mzali evaluated the experience of the French Muslim philosopher Roger Garaudy, and he pondered the significance of King Faysal's World Prize and the Swedish Nobel Prize.

When the interview was over, the basic impression I had was that thought, culture and politics were absolutely integral parts of Mohamed Mzali's personality. They are integrated in his conversations and interwoven into his daily activities and into his intrapersonal and interpersonal relationships. Consequently, it would be correct to say that Mzali is a man with a mission, a man who is carrying out that mission with resolve, determination and sincerity. The only reward he expects is that of seeing a role model for Arab intellectuals putting all his resources to work in the service of the country, the people and the nation with no objective in mind but that of achieving his own peace of mind. The text of the interview follows.

[Question] When you assumed the responsibilities of the prime minister's office, that fact had a far-reaching and a profound impact on Arab intellectuals and authors who expressed their sentiments on more than one occasion. They are still very hopeful that this excellent experience will prove to be successful and will yield objective results that will serve the interests of the people of Tunisia and the other peoples of the Greater Arab Homeland.

Now that more than 3 years have elapsed since you assumed those responsibilities, how would you evaluate that precedent-setting experiment? What are its general characteristics and what are the prospects for its future development?

[Answer] Arab intellectuals and authors are to watch what is happening in Tunisia, their country. This would be a logical reaction, and it is to be expected. This is rather self-evident, since what concerns Tunisia does concern the various Arab countries, just as Tunisian intellectuals are concerned about and interested in what is happening in the fraternal countries of the Arab world.

The fact that those Arab intellectuals are strongly identifying with a colleague in a fraternal country who is assuming the responsibilities of a prime minister is due to the fact that they found themselves having a direct interest in that experience, which you described in your question as "excellent." In considering that experience precedent-setting, Arab intellectuals are acknowledging the wise guidance of the Great Fighter since he is the one who makes the decisions and the choices. They are acknowledging his abiding leadership which is always based on wise premises. The wise implications of those premises stem from the objective reality that people are experiencing in their lives, and their purpose is to serve citizens and to make them happy in the context of that material world which these premises try to control.

Regarding the other aspect of your question, about evaluating this experience and defining its general features and the prospects for its future development, I can only assert the peace of mind and satisfaction that we feel because of what has been accomplished politically, economically and socially during this brief term, which has been less than 4 years. This was done under the directions of the Great Fighter, President Habib Bourguiba, and with his continuing care.

We have always sought his wisdom and his experience for our enlightenment, and he has guided our steps and helped us avoid mistakes.

If we were to list all these achievements, we would take up a long time. They are known to Arabs and non-Arabs, and they are known in private and public circles throughout the Arab homeland and the world. Although I got ahead of myself here in talking about political achievements, I did so because I believe that any achievement remains shaky if it is built on a soft foundation. The political achievement I am referring to is the democratic course that we've chosen as the best course for improving the lot of society. We are determined to stay on that course to make this vital experiment succeed. The Third World still fears democracy, giving flimsy excuses for its apprehensions about forging ahead with democracy. These fears and apprehensions have nothing to do with objective analysis.

The Tunisian people have reached a degree of maturity and awareness that makes them ready to assume their responsibilities and determine their choices. It seems to me that the time has come for citizens to assume their responsibilities and tackle economic and social choices with a spirit of patriotism. They can thus feel that they are simultaneously planning and implementing those choices and not merely serving as automatons that carry out what is dictated to them.

To me this is not a new direction; it is an established principle that I have been calling for since the early years of independence. In numerous articles I wrote, particularly in the Magazine, AL-FIKR, I defined the intellectual and philosophical principles of true democracy. I still remember what I wrote in these articles. In one of the editorials of AL-FIKR in 1955 I emphasized the close ties--and here I would prefer the term "ties" to "liaisons" because of the sense of interaction "ties" conveys--between the principle of freedom and that of democracy. I emphasized then that we were proponents of freedom who did not want to confine freedom to one field or restrict it to one group. To us freedom is an integral whole: if it is impaired in one area, for one person or one group, then its very presence, essence and foundations are also threatened. I spoke then about the need to adjust our social and political life in accordance with the human principles that have been endorsed by experience and that history has ruled in favor of. We would then eliminate the oppression from which the nation has suffered, and we would motivate people to become constructive and creative in an atmosphere in which they would be secure from chaos and confusion. It is only democracy that preserves freedom and establishes order. To those who tremble apprehensively at the mere sound of the word, democracy, I can only say that democracy is taught and learned. Now that our people have reached a certain level of maturity and reason, they have a right to take control of their own resources and their sovereignty and to do so freely and responsibly. We can all be certain that the course of democracy is the only one that will respond to the movement of history. Any other course would be shaky and ephemeral.

I continued to speak about this course that I firmly believe in. I subsequently wrote an editorial entitled "Al-Hurriyah al-Haq" [True Democracy], also in AL-FIKR. I emphasized then that freedom had two inseparable aspects that were like the two sides of a white sheet of paper. Freedom is a sacred right and an

imperative duty: it is two manifestations of one thing and one essence. If one of these aspects were to be lost or if the balance between them were upset, freedom would turn to chaos and revert to tyranny. In both cases man would be defeated.

Therefore, I am becoming more and more convinced of what I wrote about in the late sixties: that democracy is a continuous process and a never-ending task. I am convinced that freedom is a personal achievement, a matter of awareness and discernment; and that voting is an obligation and an act that reminds us of this freedom. It is the citizen who is ultimately responsible for himself and his society. It is the standards of that citizen and the efforts he makes to improve his standards, together with his resolve and his integrity, that determine a society's level of democracy, freedom and civilization.

I think that Arab intellectuals--writers, philosophers, sociologists and others--can do nothing but watch our experience on the basis of that direction which we in the Third World--and the Arab world is part of the Third World--still fear to take and regard as premature. This direction has thus become the foremost demand of those intellectuals and the focus of their discussions and their writings.

There is another matter that I must refer to which, it seems to me, was implied in the question. It has to do with the fact that this experience, which you considered the first of its kind, has characteristics that make it the object of observation by intellectuals, particularly Arab intellectuals. It is essential that Arab intellectuals watch the experiences of a colleague because the results of these experiences are of direct interest and concern to them. They are to observe what is happening to find out how successful an intellectual has been in reconciling objective theory with application in the material world. I must pause here at some of the characteristics of this experience, not because they concern me, but because of a principle I've believed in and still believe in. This is a principle I spoke about previously on numerous occasions.

An objective thinker is a man with far-reaching and profound humanitarian impulses who sets out to find out what people's aspirations and goals are. These aspirations and goals may sometimes harbor a variety of contradictions and conflicting tendencies. When he comes to the point at which he can steer and direct people, the objective thinker will have had the means by which he can respond to those aspirations. But if the objective thinker were to turn into a mere professional or a technician who puts together ready-made economic, social and political models and imposes them on his society on the basis of a pre-conceived notion that they are the most suitable and the most appropriate, a gap develops between him and his society. Accordingly, an intellectual is required--and these are the profound foundations of Bourguiba's approach--to experience the aspirations of individuals in his society. These are not necessarily homogeneous, and they are always in a state of flux. That person has to be sensitive to people's fears and their inclinations so that he can determine a factual, scientific course that would have the best chances for success. It would be wrong to deal with human problems from one personal perspective. Despite their importance, economic solutions alone are not enough to do away with man's problems since man is a being who is not regulated by figures or controlled by abstract mathematical computations. Man is a powerful being within whom a conflict between matter and spirit is ongoing: if one of them dominates the other, an imbalance ensues, and the individual falls into a state of passive regression.

This is an established fact, and in my opinion, it might help an official carry out his task successfully. That official, who would be assisted by experts, professionals, intellectuals and researchers in all the areas of life, has more power to take the proper, objective action to humanize the material and intellectual results of these studies so as to make them feasible and ensure their effectiveness.

Imported Ideologies Are Doomed to Failure

[Question] The search for an ideological theory or a social or political school of thought has been going on for over 30 years on the Arab scene. That search, which has not been free of conflict or violence, has had unlimited disappointments.

You talked about this issue in the Magazine, AL-FIKR more than 25 years ago. You discussed it in greater depth in more than one book that you published. You were able to assume an unequivocal position on all kinds of incoming experiments and imported theories. That position is one that stems basically from the strength of our affiliation with our Arab Islamic culture. How do you present this issue now?

[Answer] I still believe that all imported ideologies, all incoming theories and all ready-made schools of thought are doomed to failure and disintegration. Like seedlings that are planted in an unsuitable climate and an unfavorable soil, they eventually die and vanish. I believe that a healthy ideology and a sound theory are those which may be compared to towering trees whose roots are firmly established in the ground and whose branches reach high in the sky for the promise of the fruits that will be borne. The roots represent that firmly established old heritage and culture, and the branches represent the present which has close ties with those roots and is nourished by them so as to yield the blossoms that promise to bear fruit in the future.

It is on the basis of this image that I still believe that the aim of the present-day self, in the profound sense of that term, is to adhere to its own authenticity and its own origins. This is the most suitable foundation for every successful ideology. In fact it is the only foundation for a successful ideology, providing the ideal background for it.

Contrary to what some people may believe or think, the terms authenticity and origins do not mean a narrow view toward the past. Authenticity rather implies an assumption of openness. We are saying that openness is assumed and not prescribed because we believe such openness would not infringe on our authenticity and our being and would not harm us. Borrowing [ideas] from others is a practice that is necessary and inevitable provided that we benefit from what we borrow, just as others borrow from us those ideas that are useful to them in their development and their progress. In other words, the relationship between the Self and the Other is one that has to be mutually beneficial; it is not to be a relationship of control and dominance.

On this basis we would reject an unfair condemnation of the past; we also would not naively and blindly worship that past. Life is a continuum: it is always in

a state of flux, and its episodes are linked. A balanced, rational being who gives his present life its due cannot wipe out the immediate past from his memory; he cannot keep his mind off his material world, which is the immediate present; nor can he narrow the prospects for his life by ignoring hope for the immediate future.

It is within these three circles that man can preserve his temporal identity and maintain the integrity of his character. This is the foundation of that ideal philosophy which can find its way into man's heart. Man recalls the past because it is beneficial; at the same time he prepares himself for what he expects and hopes for in the future since he is the one who is responsible for that future out of a sense of faithfulness to the spirit of the past as well as faith in the present that will lead to a happier future.

I believe that the occasional violent conflict, which you referred to in your question, the conflict that occurs in the course of the search for a suitable ideology or theory, is due to the lack of resolve in some people's minds. I did speak about this previously [and I also said that] other people had fanatically made up their minds about the past. This is something we inherited from the age of military and administrative colonialism. When we became independent, many of us were not able to get over the difficulty of this past. Some of us were dazzled by the West and its power, the power that enabled it to dominate us. Those people drifted in their search for ready-made models which brought such power and progress to these countries, and they occasionally ended their search by dismantling [their own culture] and adopting the outside aspects of that material culture without ever getting from it any of the benefits that would be congruous with their culture and their intellectual and cultural environment. Then there were others who preferred to turn away from the West, considering it the source of disaster. Those people regarded material civilization to be the source of man's misery and unhappiness. They refused to engage in a dialogue with the West and to take from its civilization even that which would be beneficial to them.

Hence, different schools of thought came into being. Some of them looked fanatically toward the past, preferring to shut out everything else, while others emerged on the scene and were dazzled by that other [civilization]. Still others were divided into different factions: some turned to the West and others turned to the East. Those who turned to the East did so to oppose that old colonialist who, they still believed, was seeking to dominate and exploit them under the guise of a new hidden colonialism. At the same time those people were overlooking the intentions of the eastern countries to which they were turning: those countries were working for the same end.

Therefore, we had the stifling and deadly exclusivity of some people and the schizophrenic tendencies of others. In my opinion, both are wrong.

Regarding those inflexible proponents of the past, facts have shown that a talk with the other side, which is more advanced than we are in the areas of creativity, innovation and industry, is unavoidable. Although the other culture is not more advanced than ours--there are no advanced and backward cultures, but there are rather different cultures--the progress it made in scientific and industrial research is such that we have not been able to match. This progress

has enabled the other culture to control the material world and its surroundings to the benefit of man. Hence, it behooves us to talk with this party so we can borrow from it what would be useful to us in those areas and so that we can, when we become creative and innovative, get rid of all kinds of subordination and domination.

Facts have also shown those who strayed in their quest for imported theories and schools of thought that they were acquiring ideas that were unsuitable for a land and a climate that were different. All incoming ideologies have failed because they were alien ideologies and thus heightened a citizen's sense of alienation. Citizens therefore spurned them and turned away from them. Can communism succeed, for example, in an Arab, Islamic country when it is still an alien ideology in those countries where it had been adopted scores of years ago? In fact, communist practices have been on the decline because they are not suitable to man's essence and inclinations.

It seems to me therefore--and I am convinced of that--that it would be pointless to embark upon a protracted quest and a lengthy struggle. There is enough in our Arab, Islamic culture and heritage to spare us the pain of a futile quest. Linking the immediate past, the immediate present and the immediate future together would be the ideal foundation for that ideal ideology which would enable us to preserve the authenticity of our heritage without having to exclude from consideration what is useful. We would thereby preserve our own culture while borrowing from the other what may be useful to us in the future in the context of an equal exchange in which we would not be trampled underfoot and subordinated to that other culture.

On the Road to Integration

[Question] In the aftermath of the past experiences we've had with unity and the various setbacks that this unity has had, serious attempts are now being made to establish kinds of "internal" unity between a number of Arab countries with territorial similarities and comparable customs, inclinations and directions. So far we've seen the Gulf Cooperation Council, the integration of the Nile Valley in the eastern part of the Arab homeland and projects for the unity of the Arab Maghreb.

First of all, what do you think about these internal unity projects and their relationship to comprehensive Arab unity as the ultimate objective of our Arab masses?

Second, how do you see the unity of the Arab Maghreb being established?

[Answer] This is an extremely critical and important question. It makes us evaluate the past and contemplate the present so as to anticipate the future. You referred in your question to the setbacks that befell previous experiences with unity. One may well ask what were the reasons that led to such failure, and I do not think the answer to such a question would be difficult. Everyone who analyzed and probed the facts was expecting that setback. These experiments had been precipitous, and they were based on emotion rather than reason and methodological planning, which relies on well-considered stages whose feasibility was proven by the Great Fighter during the liberation movement, while the independent state was being built. It was Bourguiba, the proponent of progressive procedures, who was one of the first intellectuals not to become enthusiastic about

these precipitous experiments in unity and mergers. This is because he believed they were experiments that lacked substance and would not succeed. I think it would be pointless to go on and provide more details about this matter because the truth is known to everyone.

The only thing we can do, however, is turn to reason to benefit from these past experiences. We do so because we are convinced that failure can be useful if one were to look into the flaws and factors that caused that failure or brought about that setback so he can avoid them and ensure the success of future actions.

If we were to look into the situation we have at the present time, we would notice that serious attempts are being made--and this is what you referred to in your question--to establish kinds of "internal" unity among a number of Arab countries that are similar because of their geographical proximity or because they have similar customs. Such unity is like that which is manifested by the Gulf Cooperation Council, the countries of the basin of the Nile Valley and the countries of the Arab Maghreb. As to what I think about these attempts and their relationship to comprehensive Arab unity, I consider them, as I said, to be serious steps that will lead to total Arab integration. Their earnestness lies in the fact that they are based on a sober, step-by-step approach which is based on facts. This is the lesson that's been learned from the mistakes of the past. This unity is based on objective study that has nothing to do with the language of emotions and slogans. It will be used to serve the objectives that are being sought, and it will be immune to errors and blunders.

If we were to take the Arab Maghreb as an example--you did ask me for my opinion on this matter--we would find that the steps that are being made toward unity here necessarily apply to those attempts that are being made by our fellow Arabs in the East. I can only state what the Great Fighter, President Habib Bourguiba said on 10 April 1981 when he inaugurated the extraordinary conference of the Destourian Socialist Party. He asserted then, "We believe that sooner or later we and our fellow Arabs will have to come closer gradually to regulating our common affairs in a manner that we ourselves will choose so that none of our countries would remain alone and isolated, with limited resources and exercising little influence in the face of outside storms." He added in this regard, "Those who are close to us are more deserving of our favor." What is meant here is geographical proximity, such as the countries of the Great Maghreb or the countries of the Gulf, for example. It may be easier to establish closer ties of cooperation between smaller groups that would come under a larger framework, which would have to include in some form all the Arab countries. In his capacity as chief fighter in the area and most senior Arab head of state, the Great Fighter called upon his fellow Arabs in the countries of the Arab Maghreb and appealed to them to overlook their differences. He asked them to place more weight on the solidarity that their peoples have shared, not only throughout history, but also that which they will share in the future so that a common destiny can be forged on the strength of the common interests that the countries of the Arab Maghreb share in all areas."

His excellency added, "No matter what, a guarantee that common action will be achieved, either among the countries of the Arab Maghreb or among the rest of

the Arab countries, is an indispensable condition. The strength of these countries can thus be built from within with comprehensive development. A guarantee for common action is also indispensable to these countries' efforts to build their power abroad by forming a front whose interests are congruous and whose influence is strong in all areas."

It is from this wise premise propounded by Bourguiba that I came to believe in building the unity of the Arab Maghreb. This is the unity that uses a step-by-step approach as its method, the method that His Excellency the President described as gradual and inevitable like destiny. This is what his excellency was affirming in the phrase "an indispensable condition." This unity is a cultural objective that is based on "confronting outside storms as a front whose interests are congruous and whose influence in all areas is indomitable."

If we were to go back a little in time, we would find that the idea of the Arab Maghreb's unity in the forties and the fifties embodied above all else the unity of the three liberation movements against colonialism. The idea of unity was firmly established in the hearts of the people of the region who had stood in the face of colonialists' efforts to separate that part of Arab territory from the rest of the Arab homeland. That posture and the violent reaction that accompanied it are merely manifestations of the fact that the people of the Arab Maghreb are holding on to their identity and to their affiliation with Arab, Islamic culture.

Because of their conditions and priorities the countries of the Arab Maghreb became busily engaged in domestic construction and development as soon as they won their independence. They did not have the precedents and foundations that were available to regional cooperation groups in western and eastern countries. Thus, they were not able to thrust themselves quickly into the stage of integration and unity. Our store of support was meager, and we were pursuing a new course that was full of obstacles and pitfalls. We had set out from a position of subordination as a sovereign state and a political entity. When we started out we were improvising, and our economy and society were weak. At first we were pursuing our own affairs ourselves without any plans and without any previously determined professional choices. We lacked the professional competence and the skills that would have been sharpened by practice and supplemented by experience. We also had to distribute our efforts on numerous fronts and in various areas that were all equally important and urgent. In politics, we could not postpone some of these questions and turn away from others so as to lay down the foundations of the state and set up its constitutional and administrative institutions; we could not do that also in the economic, social, cultural and educational areas.

Now, however, that we've made some progress in a variety of areas, it behooves us to go back to what we had resolved to do but were prevented by circumstances from proceeding with. We are to go back and insist on the spirit of the Tangier Charter which demonstrated a firm political determination to build the unity of the Arab Maghreb on the basis of respecting existing countries and working toward bringing about a growing, tighter merger between them. Such a merger would be based on scientific studies that would be conducted in all areas. We can thus pave the road for future generations who may gradually succeed in achieving the unity of the Arab Maghreb and proceed from there to [bring about a more comprehensive] unity.

Therefore, to ensure the integrity of the course, caution and deliberation must be observed and improvisation avoided. On the basis of the progressive premise, I am at the present time one of those who believe in the need for total, profound, serious and sincere cooperation that would lead to what I call "functional unity." This is a unity that would be based on the diversity, inter-relationship and integration of economic, commercial and other interests. It is a unity that would be based on the establishment of bilateral and multi-lateral projects. Using this progressive premise we must also standardize the courses of instruction since this would be the best method for bringing about the rapprochement as well as the emotional and spiritual dialogue that are being sought. The new generations would thus receive the same information with the same spirit and orientation. They would thus come to believe in the same values and seek to build a common future as though they were members of the same cohesive family. It has also become necessary that we work harder and harder to integrate the media. We have to exchange radio and television programs and make preparations for joint programs that would bring the peoples of the area closer together.

This demand is becoming more pressing today, now that possibilities for integration are available. On the one hand the foundations for a common effort are now available, and we are now living in an age of international blocs and regional groups which we cannot address as equals unless we are united. Today, we are negotiating with these groups in the east and in the west, and we are alone, divided, fighting among ourselves and undermined even though the reasons we have for supporting each other are inexhaustible. We also have undeniable resources and a string of cohesive ties woven together over decades and generations.

There is no doubt that observers and analysts of international conditions are somewhat bewildered by us to the point that they may even despise us. If they follow our course, they will notice that the common structure [of unity] was not built because our resolve failed despite the fact that we have a common history, a common present and a future that will necessarily be common. In addition, we have a common language and a common religion. Those observers and analysts will undoubtedly marvel at us as they follow the course of integration and solidarity among different nations and countries that have nothing in common but common interests, a posture they assumed against the challenges of an age, and sometimes geographical proximity.

To summarize, the idea of the Arab Maghreb, an idea that in my opinion applies to the experiences of fellow Arabs in the eastern part of the Arab world, is an idea for the future. It exists now in our hearts, but it must take shape gradually and become fact.

There is no doubt that the relationship between these "internal" experiences--or regional if we use the geographical term--and the process of building total Arab unity is organic, just as the Great Fighter had asserted. Bourguiba had said, "It may be easier to establish close ties of cooperation among smaller groups that would gradually come under a broader framework which must inevitably include in some form [the prospect of Arab unity]."

[9 Aug 84 pp 3, 4]

[Text] Bourguiba the Man, the Intellectual and the Activist

[Question] Anyone who has followed the modern history of Tunisia will notice that your relationship with President Habib Bourguiba is an excellent relationship that is almost paternal. His excellency had once made a statement to that effect. A student of Tunisia's modern history will notice that President Bourguiba holds a special, unparalleled place in your affections.

Can you tell us something about President Habib Bourguiba's personality? Can you tell us about the intellectual, literary and humanitarian features that make his personality attractive?

[Answer] The fact that students of Tunisia's modern history regard my relationship with President Habib Bourguiba as excellent and almost paternal is an indisputable and an unequivocal fact. I've learned a great deal from Bourguiba's principles, and I've studied in this unique school ever since my youth. I've followed up this study with analysis and in-depth inquiry into the principles and implications of this school where I had grown, a school whose depths I had probed and whose profound humanitarian sense I had savored. It is a school of wisdom and realism that grew out of the notion that man serves man. These are the foundations of a paternal relationship that placed me in the position of a son who has fully absorbed his father's principles.

When you ask me about Bourguiba's personality and request that I define those characteristics that make it attractive, I find myself facing two obstacles: I do not have enough time to talk about all the aspects of this great man; and I also find myself speechless and unable to find the words that would do justice to this leader of freedom fighters.

If we were to start with the man's heart, we would find out the true identity of this humane leader who can empathize with his people's pain and their joy. It was for the people that he endured the hardships of exile and imprisonment during the liberation movement. It was for the freedom of his children that he walked for many miles inside the country and abroad, enduring the hardships and the perils of travel. Who is it among the people of Tunisia who has forgotten the 10 years that Bourguiba spent in the prisons of Tunisia and France? Who is it who forgot the journey he made on foot from Tunisia to Egypt for his country's cause?

With the same determination and loyalty to his people that he manifested earlier, Bourguiba continued the course of the great struggle to build a modern state and establish its foundations in a manner that would make it invulnerable and prosperous. It was on that basis that Bourguiba became the father of all Tunisians: they supported him during the times of struggle; they supported his course; and they all stood united behind him to defeat the colonialist and achieve independence. The Tunisian people remained loyal to their wise leader who knew how to steer the course of the Tunisian cause to peace without incurring major losses and heavy burdens. The Tunisian people believed in Bourguiba, and they heeded his call to proceed on the course of construction and make progress in the process of building and developing the state.

One of the attractive features of President Bourguiba's personality--and he is considered one of the few great men of this century--is the fact that he is a brave man. He does not fear dying for the sake of what is right, and he glories in an adventure undertaken for the cause of justice. It is this that made him indifferent to the dominance and tyranny of colonialists. In fact, he challenged colonialists and stood up to them, indifferent to dangers and confident in the justice and sanctity of the cause.

Bourguiba's love for his fellow-man does not stop with the affection he has for Tunisians. He loves people wherever they are. Thus, one always finds him siding with just causes anywhere in the world. He believes in selflessness and in overlooking one's happiness to make others happy.

The wisdom and far-sightedness of this extraordinary man as well as his realistic approach to issues are recognized by those who are far and near and by people who know him privately and publicly. He is the proponent of a well-considered progressive approach that is based on using reason and logic. It would be enough here to mention three facts:

The first of these facts, as we mentioned, is his approach to Tunisia's issues, an approach that leads to victory without incurring losses or costs.

The second fact is that position which history has recorded for him during World War II. Bourguiba ordered that Tunisia side with the allies--and France is one of those countries--and oppose the Nazis. His position was courageous and wise, and he took that position at a time when the majority were inclined to hate the French colonialists and to consider them enemies. Bourguiba's position was based on two points: one of them was logical, and it found that the defeat of the Nazis was inevitable; and the other point was based on a principle that regarded Nazism as a school of thought that was anti-humanity.

The third fact about Bourguiba was manifested in the journey he made in the Middle East in 1965. He declared his opinion openly and courageously, and called for the application of UN rules and regulations regarding the partitioning of Palestine. His position then was wise as well as brave. The wisdom lay in the fact that he adopted a progressive methodology whose feasibility he had tested and understood. The courage lay in the fact that the declaration was made at a time when enthusiasm and emotional language were so prevalent and predominant that anyone who analyzed the situation was accused of being reactionary, and anyone who used his mind was accused of treason. Today, I think that no Arab can but recognize the wisdom of that historic position whose significance some people did not understand at that time.

One of the characteristics of Bourguiba's personality is the fact that he is always a thinking man. He does not believe in ready-made intellectual and theoretical models. Bourguiba's philosophy is based on a process of continuous development and on an ongoing analytical observation of the material world. It is a philosophy that is incessantly trying to find out what man's concerns are so that it can proceed from those facts to adjust its directions and come up with the appropriate tools for action in this changing and dynamic world.

Memories with Taha Husayn

[Question] Numerous literary circles are now celebrating the 10th anniversary of the death of Dr Taha Husayn. We know that you've had a good intellectual and personal relationship with him. We all recall the excellent introduction you gave him during the first year of Tunisia's independence at one of the largest halls in the Tunisian capital. [This was an occasion that] was attended by President Bourguiba; it was also attended by ministers and ambassadors as well as scientists and literary and intellectual figures.

What is your view of Taha Husayn now that he's gone?

[Answer] He is still the dean of Arab writers. There is a special place in my heart and in my mind for Taha Husayn. He is an outstanding writer because of his ideas, innovations and contributions to literature. He is a courageous thinker who declared his literary and political positions openly and fearlessly. I was not as informed as Tunisia's intellectuals were about what Taha Husayn was writing, but there were special ties between him and me. These ties had been established after Tunisia's independence and after the first national government was formed; that government was headed by President Habib Bourguiba. In 1957 I was office manager for Mr al-Amin al-Shabi, the minister of information. Prior to that, in October 1956, a decision had been made to establish an institute of higher learning for teachers. This was the first academic pedagogical institute to be established under independence. To support this institute we had invited Dr Taha Husayn to head an examination committee for freshmen students at this institute; this was the first class to graduate from the institute later. At that time Dr Taha Husayn supervised the examination committee, and he became aware of the standards of the institute, and he made a public statement to that effect in an Egyptian newspaper.

This was the occasion on which Dr Taha Husayn delivered his well-known lecture in Tunisia. That lecture was entitled, "Rihlah Fanniyah" [An Artistic Journey]. Plans for the lecture had been made by the Al-Sadiqiyah Alumni Association, and I was the one who introduced the lecture in the Palmarium Hall which was crowded with people. Then in December 1957 I met Taha Husayn in Egypt when the Third Conference for Arab Writers was convened. The conference was attended by Mr Mahmud al-Mis'idi who read a paper in which he argued that an author had to be free and that an author's commitment [to a cause] was to be voluntary and not coercive. This aroused the ire of Mr Sa'id al-'Iryan who told him, "If you do not believe in Arab nationalism, why then did you come here?"

This attack made me eager to respond despite Mr Mahmud al-Mis'idi's insistence that I remain silent. I told this apologist for Arab nationalism that Mr Mahmud al-Mis'idi was a patriotic activist who, in addition to his political activism, was also a union activist. I told him that Mr al-Mis'idi was the one who succeeded the late Ferhat Hashad who was killed by the underground Red Hand Organization, which was founded by supporters of colonialism in Tunisia. Its function was to get rid of Tunisian nationalists by killing them and by creating fear among citizens.

It is indisputable that Taha Husayn's literary creativity and literary contributions entitle him to this honorary title of the dean of Arab literature. It is

a title that has profound implications. This author has enriched Arab thought with his prolific, innovative contributions, and he has given Arab criticism a new approach that depends on modern methods of research. According to these methods studying a work of art would include studying an author's background and the objective factors that affected him. Hence arose the doubts that Taha Husayn had about pre-Islamic literature, or some of it. He regarded some of this literature incongruous with the pre-Islamic environment, with the mentality of the people and with the nature of their lives. He doubted that the character of 'Antarah al-'Absi would fall into such depths of emotional weakness when he was the hero of a large army and of storming hordes of people, and he raised questions about the usage of a term for a flower by a pre-Islamic poet who lived in the gloom of barren deserts.

Although he did not go beyond raising questions, since raising questions in any quest provides the road to certainty, some of Taha Husayn's enemies were provoked by the questions he raised, and they turned against him. They found in this matter an excuse to disparage a genius whose contributions and innovations had exceeded theirs. But he stood up to them, and he opposed them, turning their positions into a weapon that he used to his advantage. As a result, people were eager to read this book: they talked about it; they examined it; and they watched it closely.

Among the characteristics of this thoughtful author is his courageous stance in challenging some professors of al-Azhar and going beyond their views on analysis and thought. In most cases instruction depended upon detailed presentations and memory work. Students did not use their minds to contemplate and ponder what they were studying. Taha Husayn assumed that stance in his early years before he turned to the West and went to Paris to continue his education. That experience made him more open [to new ideas]. In some instances he had been rather dazzled by the West and had become somewhat westernized, but then he regained his equilibrium, and he realized that the civilizations were disparate and the cultures were different. He remained convinced that it was necessary to keep an open mind towards these civilizations and to borrow from them anything that would enrich Arab thought and move it forward.

Among those accomplishments for which history will always give Taha Husayn credit, is the fact that he called for universal and free education in Egypt when he was appointed minister of education. He regarded education as the only means by which the standard of the people can be raised. Taha Husayn saw in education the only means by which people can be made to participate in the course of growth and progress.

Garaudy and Islam

[Question] A few years ago you wrote the introduction to the Arabic translation of the book, "Hiwar al-Hadarat" [A Dialogue between Cultures] by the French philosopher Roger Garaudy. In that introduction you provided an in-depth analysis of the premises for that dialogue between cultures. You praised that philosopher's outlook in his efforts to praise the spirit of cooperation, fraternity and understanding among the inhabitants of our world which is being threatened every moment with ruin and destruction.

You've undoubtedly followed the development of this philosopher and the statements that he had issued explaining the truth about his Islam. You must have read the splendid book that he wrote condemning Zionism and its old and recent crimes. You must have observed the siege that was set around the man and the attempts that were made to beleaguer him with different accusations and falsehoods. What do you think of this case?

[Answer] From the outset Roger Garaudy's intellectual premises had profound humanitarian implications. This was what stirred my interest in what he wrote. I became interested in Garaudy when I was a student at the Sorbonne in the late forties. At that time and later Garaudy was a communist and a member of the Political Bureau of the French Communist Party. Garaudy's quest did not stop when he found the lofty principles that he came to believe in. He is a man who analyzed and probed all religions, and he ended up adopting Islam. Garaudy rather made quite an effort to establish that foundation where those principles could thrive and become concrete facts. His quest for salvation was an exciting quest that contributed considerable creative thought. Then one day matters became clear to the French philosopher, and he professed Islam: that religion in which he had found those principles with which his mind had been preoccupied. He ascertained the truth of his principles through the precepts of Islam, and he became convinced that even though 20th century man did control the forces of nature and did exercise his influence over them, he was still making slow progress in his efforts to reach "a state of virtue." Man's effort in that regard has been slow and does not parallel his conquest and his domination of his environment. There is no doubt that despite their material progress, economic and political systems leave much to be desired. These systems cannot provide that which bread and material things cannot make dispensable; we are referring to spiritual nourishment, to a sense of freedom and dignity and to the independence of opinion.

Having experienced an ideology with a materialistic perspective and having completed his quest into other religions, Garaudy felt that his principles went beyond such limited frameworks and stepped into more spacious and more universal contexts.

I was personally not surprised by that philosopher's development because I believed from the outset in the positive nature of the foundations of his thoughts and the clarity of his premises. Finally, Garaudy began accusing the enemies of man and exposing their crimes and destructive practices. He paid no attention to their threats and the siege they set around him because his faith in the principles he was defending had become quite profound.

The King Faysal World Prize

[Question] Arab literary figures and authors talk every year about the Nobel Prize and the prejudice against them that has existed in the Nobel Prize committee ever since it was established. A few years ago, however, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia established a world prize it called the King Faysal World Prize which would be awarded to writers, scientists and scholars according to objective standards that show no traces of racial or political chauvinism. Today, intellectuals are saying that you are one of the top candidates for this prize, God willing.

First, what do you think about the Nobel Prize?

And second, what do you have to say about being nominated for the King Faysal World Prize?

[Answer] We know that many factors have to be met before an author achieves his objective. One of these factors is psychological. This applies to all areas of creativity, including scientific discovery. This factor is essential to every literary work and every cultural movement. [Other factors include] self-confidence and the author's confidence in the genius of people. Without this confidence an author would lose interest in making contributions and in writing. Whether a prize is universal, regional or local, it is undeniably a material incentive, but it is above all else a moral incentive. A prize awakens the enthusiasm in a thinking man's soul; it stirs his impulses for honest competition; and it provides the justification for artistic creativity and creative contributions. Such a prize enables the winner to hold a position of prominence among his contemporaries, and it wins for him the appreciation of societies. Initially, the Nobel Prize had these noble humanitarian implications, and literary figures, intellectuals and scientists all over the world had high hopes for it. However, the Nobel Prize deviated from its lofty objectives in some instances, and Arab thinkers may have been removed from the committee's considerations even though our nation has numerous creative people who have enriched human thought and who made contributions to the world's civilization. At any rate, I hope this prize will continue to maintain its humanitarian integrity and afford Arab intellectuals due recognition.

The King Faysal World Prize was established to become a practical example of illustriousness, integrity and impartiality because of the lofty, humanitarian values it implies and the principles it calls for: principles that have nothing to do with bigotry. The list of winners attests to that. I firmly believe that it has become quite influential on the scene of international thought. Regarding being nominated for the prize, it is not up to me to comment on the matter. My job ends after making my creative and intellectual contribution truthfully, faithfully and sincerely. This has been my practice since my youth, and it still is with the grace of God.

Our Arabic Language Makes Matters Easy, not Difficult

[Question] You have had considerable experience with the work of linguistic and scientific Arab academies, and you are familiar with their work since you are an active member of the Academy of the Arabic Language in Cairo. You are also a member of the Jordanian Academy and of two scientific academies in Baghdad and Damascus. A number of Arab intellectuals, however, have noticed that in Tunisia Arabic usage combines the old and the new. They observed that such usage in Tunisia may not be understood or current in other Arab countries. As an intellectual and a linguist, do you think that the time has come to establish a Tunisian academy of language that would codify the precise, proper usage of the language and coordinate its activities with the rest of the other Arab academies? It is known that a short time ago King Fahd did order the establishment of a Saudi language academy. What do you think about this matter?

[Answer] I would like to note first that the people of Tunisia speak Arabic fluently. Most of us studied the Koran in religious schools. Also don't forget that the campaign of Bani Hilal and Bani Salim in the 4th and 5th centuries Arabized 100 percent of the people living in south Tunisia. In that area classical Arabic is still spoken by most of the people. Ever since the beginning of our national movement under the leadership of the Great Fighter, Habib Bourguiba, we have been trying to get the Arabic language out of the rigid mode that some people want to impose on it. We believe that the Arabic language has to keep up with life, and it has to express the reality of people's lives. In this respect I support everything that Dr Taha Husayn stood for when he said, "Our Arabic language is to make matters easy, not difficult. It belongs to us just as it belonged to our predecessors. It is up to us to add to it the terms and usages that we need and to delete those which we no longer need." It is for this reason that we criticized writers who used a pedantic, pretentious language. Although that language was used 4 or 5 centuries ago, it is no longer appropriate for this age. Accordingly, we've subsequently called for the use of a vital language in every sense of the word, vital. We've called for a language that would hold the middle ground between the old, difficult language and the less erudite colloquial.

This, however, did not prevent some people--a small group--from locking themselves into obsolete linguistic patterns or abandoning all erudition and using the colloquial. The observations of some Arab intellectuals may stem from this fact, but these observations are not purely objective in relation to the linguistic changes we are experiencing in Tunisia.

I do not think that the situation requires the establishment of a Tunisian academy of language even though the idea is essentially very useful for the Arabic language. There may be an opportunity to do that in the future, particularly since the National Institute for Translation, Investigation and Research was founded a year ago. That institution has been called Bayt al-Hikmah [the House of Wisdom]. This follows the example of Kairouane which was the Islamic capital of Africa and served as the launching ground for Islamic conquests as far as Andalusia. Kairouane was a center from which Arab and Islamic culture and civilization radiated. It too was concerned with terminology and had an established academy.

Excellent Cooperation

[Question] Fair-minded people admit that your government has accomplished a great deal to strengthen relations and fraternal ties with all fellow Arabs, and they are grateful for those efforts. Those people know that the support and assistance provided by your government to the Palestinian cause and the efforts it made on behalf of that cause are no longer a secret to anyone.

How much economic and cultural cooperation has been achieved with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in particular and with the rest of the Arab countries in general?

[Answer] First of all I would like to affirm that the efforts made by the Tunisian government to strengthen relations and fraternal ties with fellow Arabs in the Arab Maghreb and in the eastern part of the Arab world are the result of

our unshakable belief that we share the same destiny and the same future. If, God forbid, some harm were to come to one of us, all of us would be affected. Our unshakable, decisive and faithful support of the just Palestinian cause stems from this belief. What concerns fellow Palestinians necessarily concerns us. Ever since western colonialism implanted the intrusive Zionist state on part of Palestinian territory, the Great Fighter has been exposing these practices. His concern with the Tunisian cause did not keep him from rallying around the Palestinian cause and supporting it. Today, we still truly believe in that position, and we support our brothers in accordance with their views of their plans for the struggle. We help them, but we do not interfere in their decisions, nor do we set up ourselves as their caretakers. We simply tell them what we think when they ask us for our opinions, and ultimately they are the ones who will judge our efforts on their behalf.

When you ask me about cooperation between Tunisia and fellow Arabs and particularly cooperation with Saudi Arabia, I can only affirm that our cooperation with all fellow Arabs is ideal and meets the standards of everyone's faith in our common destiny, particularly in a situation in which blocs are dominant and signs of domination and control over weak countries on this earth are becoming evident.

The fact that our cooperative relations with fellow Saudis are excellent is due basically to the confidence that fellow Saudis have in the government and the people of Tunisia. In addition, we all believe in our inevitable common destiny. Fellow Saudis have confidence in our country because of its stability and because of the earnest manner in which it operates and deals with fellow Arabs. This confidence is evident in the fact that Saudi investors are investing in economic projects in our country. We've also established joint financial institutions for investment, such as the Tunisian-Saudi Financing Bank, which will play an important economic role in funding and starting projects.

What applies to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia also applies to other fraternal countries like Kuwait. We've made considerable progress in our close cooperation with Kuwait, and we established a joint investment bank with that country. Besides, Kuwaiti investors are investing in some economic projects that will benefit all of us.

As long as we're talking about Tunisia's cooperation with all fellow Arabs in the east and in the west, I can only mention the common achievements that have been realized throughout the Arab Maghreb in a short period of time. This cooperation goes back to the Treaty of Fraternity and Accord between Tunisia and Algeria. Mauritania later joined the treaty. We started common border projects, and we relaxed many trade measures and customs procedures. We also established a joint Tunisian-Algerian bank that will finance or help finance bilateral economic projects. Among the most important of these projects is a diesel engine plant at Saqiyah Sidi Yusuf and a white [Portland] cement plant at Furciyanah.

This cooperation has also been applied in the areas of culture and education. Significant progress has been made in standardizing educational courses, particularly with fellow Moroccans with whom we are exchanging cultural programs and book promotion efforts.

These major strides have been made in a short period of time. We hope they will be reinforced as the days go by so that common interests can be served.

A Word to All Arabs

[Question] Would you say something to address your fellow Arabs everywhere?

[Answer] I ask and I appeal to every Arab in the east and in the west, whether he is a citizen or an official, to sense the responsibility that has been placed on his shoulders and to make a contribution to the common Arab constructive effort. The effort that each one of us makes locally, in each country, with a spirit of responsible patriotism represents only one brick in the common social structure that we are building together. Let us all be certain that we have the same destiny and the same future. Let us be certain that the power we have to face outside storms lies in our solidarity and our cohesiveness to achieve more integration.

I would not forget addressing a few words to Arab journalists wherever they are. I would thank them for the efforts they are making in a spirit of responsible patriotism. I would appeal to them to continue that effort with the same resolve and determination in the context of their sensitive and arduous mission. I would appeal to them to shun the influence of [harmful] theories and poisonous attempts that come from place one or another.

May God grant all Arabs success in their efforts to serve the Arab nation.

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CSO: 4504/420

RELEASE OF ISLAMISTS, PLANNED RETURN OF BEN SALAH DISCUSSED

East Burnham ARABIA: THE ISLAMIC WORLD REVIEW in English No 37, Sep 84 pp 24-26

[Article by Mustafa Shirazi and Mohamed Saleh Mohamed]

[Excerpts]

Seventeen leaders and activists of the Islamic Trend Movement (ITM) serving long prison sentences were released in Tunisia on August 1. This appeared to be a move to ease political tension which has been mounting since the arrest of 107 ITM members in July 1981, and which was aggravated by January's "bread revolt." These were the last ITM members to leave jail. Speaking on behalf of ailing President Bourguiba, Prime Minister Mohammed M'Zali presented their release as an act of personal generosity by the head of state.

The freeing of the Islamists was made to coincide with Bourguiba's 81st birthday. It took place three and a half months after 23 Algerian Islamists were "pardoned" – without being tried – and just one day after 47 Muslim activists were sentenced to either life imprisonment or death in Morocco.

The decision to free the ITM activists was made, an ITM official in Paris told *Arabia*, at a meeting between Abdelfettah Mourou, the Movement's secretary-general, and the prime minister on July 30. Mourou, who had been serving an 11-year sentence, was confined to house arrest nearly a year ago for health reasons, before being freed altogether with the other ITM activists at the beginning of August.

The roots of the Islamic revival in Tunisia go back to the beginning of the twentieth century. For hundreds of years Az-Zaituna Islamic University was attended by students from all over the Maghreb and Black Africa. This made Tunisia one of the great Islamic centres in the world. However, at the turn of the

century, Jam'iat az-Zaituna declined in importance in the wake of the French colonisation of North Africa.

Under colonialism non-religious schools were opened. As a consequence, az-Zaituna education declined in importance and its graduates were replaced by those of the Sadiqi institute (which still gave some Islamic teaching) and French schools and universities.

French-trained graduates took prominent positions in administration and public life, and in the leadership of the nationalist movement. However, az-Zaituna students, mostly from rural areas, remained as the mobilisers of the political struggle and the cadres of the new Constitutional Party (the Destour).

The leadership of this party took command of the nationalist movement and convinced France that it was the representative of the Tunisian people. This leadership was gradually infiltrated by men such as Bourguiba who were almost totally influenced by western political thought and European culture. Accordingly, when the latter assumed power after independence in 1956, he abolished az-Zaituna under the guise of unifying the educational system.

Other legal measures were taken which had the effect of disrupting and weakening the people's traditional culture. A Tunisian sociologist commented: "Unlike the other Arab countries Tunisia was the only country where the intellectual elite have fought against institutional Islam. This was followed by a number of enactments which questioned Islamic Sharia."

The disruption of the traditional culture and the failure of cultural westernisation

to supplant the people's values caused great confusion in Tunisian society. Added to this was the failure of the development processes in both their socialist (in the 1960s) and liberal (in the 1970s and the 1980s) forms. The 1967 defeat by Israel caused bitterness to the Arabs and the Tunisians were no exception.

However, it was western education which, paradoxically, helped the Muslims to become aware of their Islamic identity and values. The Islamic movement in Tunisia was born in these circumstances and grew rapidly to pose a challenge to the policies of the regime.

The movement was first confined to mosques and to preaching in the various quarters of the capital, Tunis. Then its influence spread quickly. The distribution of *Al-Maarifa*, the movement's first journal, soared from 6,000 copies in 1971 to 25,000 in 1976 before it was banned. Afterwards the movement entered secondary schools and immediately swept the University of Tunis where the Marxist left was isolated in a short time, although it had hitherto been in tight control of higher education. Bourguiba had believed in the "mutual neutralisation" of Islamists and Marxists.

In the wake of the January 1978 bloody repression, and following the Islamic revolution in Iran, the Islamic movement stepped to the frontline of political confrontation. The press, both independent and official, had to pay attention to the new trend. Likewise the local socialist and liberal opposition started to coordinate with the Islamists, who now had a large following.

The importance of the movement frightened the regime. This feeling increased after Bourguiba's declaration in spring 1981 that he would accept the emergence of a limited number of parties. In spite of his hint that the Islamists ("fanatic groups") would not be allowed to form a party, the latter applied to be recognised as a political party under the name of the Islamic Trend Movement (ITM), headed by Rashed al-Ghannouchi.

In response the authorities launched a slander campaign and then arrested 107 ITM leaders in July 1981. The charges were incitement to violence and the illegal creation of a political party. At the trial, the defence was forced to withdraw because of what it saw as blatant irregularities. The charges, which elsewhere would have led to no more than

a fine, resulted in harsh prison terms of between 10 and 20 years for many of the leaders, including Ghannouchi and Abdelfettah Mourou.

The announcement of the verdict provoked widespread popular discontent and protest. Other ITM members were arrested at different times, especially in January 1982 when a group of the Movement's militants were charged with reviving the illegal Islamic Trend Movement.

Why has the regime changed its attitude towards the Islamic Trend? Has it resigned itself to accept the fait accompli of a movement which is widely popular, to be considered part and parcel of the Tunisian political set-up, albeit not officially recognised? This seems to be the outcome of the failure of Prime Minister M'Zali's policy.

Since he came to power in 1980, M'Zali has toned down the official rhetoric and played the democratic card. He obtained from the president the release of trade union leaders who had been in jail since the bloody events of 1978 and persuaded Bourguiba to legalise the Tunisian Communist Party in 1981 as well as the Socialist Democratic Party and the Popular Union Movement. The change was hailed enthusiastically by the Tunisian press. Other measures, however, countered the effect of these decisions.

Government relations with the trade unions became tense again in 1981. The autumn 1981 legislative elections were openly rigged and great pressure was brought to bear on political parties. Independent and opposition newspapers were frequently suspended, which led to the disappearance of some of them and a grim struggle to survive for the rest.

These developments were exacerbated by last January's popular explosion – following the doubling of the price of bread – with its violence and high death toll. The death sentences passed against 10 young men, all people aged less than 20, accused of killing two people during the January riots, completed the discrediting of the prime minister's policy.

In an apparent move to redress the situation and under the pressure of public opinion, M'Zali initiated a series of policy changes, the most prominent of which is the release of the ITM's leading members. The head of the government could not indefinitely ignore a popular movement, the base of which has not been affected by the imprisonment of its leaders three years ago. Both the authorities and the ITM were willing to enter into talks, each for their own reasons.

Contacts have been sustained between the two parties since the January revolt. The main mediators were Dr Harnouda Ben Salama, an independent politician with good relations with the prime minister, Salahuddin al Jourshi, a journalist connected with the "progressive" wing of the Islamic movement, and Sheikh Mourou himself. The latter, as secretary-general of the ITM, is said to have played a crucial role in the negotiations.

It is difficult to say accurately what there was to negotiate about between the government and the Islamists, apart from a truce during which each side would try to consolidate its base and structure. The ITM, which has always denounced violence as a means of achieving political power, is said to have withdrawn from its discourse the word "jahiliyah" (pre-Islamic period of ignorance) which it used to describe Tunisian society.

However, the ITM representative in Paris told *Arabia* that no condition was set for the release of the 17 members of his movement. The authorities' new favourable mood towards ITM was already apparent a few months ago when an ITM information committee was set up and functioned without any government opposition. At this stage it seems that the regime has resigned itself to accept a de facto recognition of the ITM, considering that among all the Islamic groups in Tunisia, it is the one which has the most influence over important sections of the people.

The normalisation of government relations with the Islamists appears to be one step towards a national reconciliation. News has proliferated lately in the Tunisian press about a planned return to the country of Ahmed Ben Salah, the author of the disastrous socialist experiment of the 1960s, after 14 years of exile in Europe.

His homecoming is being supported by a committee for the return of Tunisian nationals in exile. The committee, created and supervised by the Tunisian League of Human Rights, includes independent journalists and politicians. It is understood to have been set up with the go-ahead of the ruling Destour party.

Ahmed Ben Salah started his political career in the early 1950s. For a short period he headed the Tunisian trade union federation, UGTT, and backed Bour-

guiba in his dispute with Salah Ben Youcef, the then secretary-general of the Neo-Destour party, over the issue of home rule.

Ben Salah is better known for having prepared the first development plan which included the famous cooperative system during the 1960s. With a carte blanche from President Bourguiba, he proceeded to regroup small agricultural holdings into "agricultural cooperatives" and the other various sectors of activity into different cooperatives. The experience failed because of widespread discontent among the small peasants and businessmen who lost a lot of money, and because of pressure from the large landowners who were affected by nationalisations.

Bourguiba put an end to the socialist experiment, and Ben Salah was tried for high treason in 1969. After a year and a half he fled to Europe and set up the Popular Union Movement (PUM), similar to the one inside Tunisia. He criticised the regime and Bourguiba unceasingly. When M'Zali took over as prime minister and played the democratic card, Ben Salah stopped his criticism and joined the game. Apart from the fact that his analysis of the January riots was close to the official one, Ben Salah made surprising conciliatory statements towards the regime.

He said that he was "outside power and outside the opposition" and that "the present opposition, including the PUM, was not able to bring about any change alone." His new attitude and the backing of some officials within the ruling party have favoured secret negotiations for his return, which is now a probability. Nevertheless his return does not mean that he would take up an official position, at any rate not in the immediate future.

Will the ITM be officially recognised de jure or will the Islamists be tolerated as they used to be? The Movement's representative in Paris ruled out an immediate recognition of his party by the government, but he explained that tacit recognition has been given for a while. However, expressing a note of cautious optimism, the official said that the ITM expects to be made legal within a year.

While no ITM member remains in jail, a great many activists of the Islamic Liberation Party are still serving long sentences. Will the ITM take up their case for the sake of Islamic solidarity?

SUMMER-TIME TRIAL ANALYZED

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 31 Aug 84 p 13

[Article by Aaron Sittner]

[Text]

THE 16-WEEK "trial" summer time has come and gone. And one of these days Interior Minister Yosef Burg will appoint a follow-up committee to study its effect. But by that time, the dozen or so follow-up studies on the feasibility of summer time – by various government and public agencies – will be ready. On the basis of those studies, Burg – who opposes the idea of summer time – will be guided for future summers. Or, if he is no longer interior minister when next summer rolls around, then those studies and recommendations will serve his successor.

Like so many seemingly simple measures that are proposed, the question of summer time has become a touchy religious (and, therefore, political) issue. For the majority of Israelis, the economic advantages of summer time are so persuasive that they do not think the matter needs even a second thought. On the other hand, there is a substantial minority of Israelis, who, while conceding the economic benefits, are dead set against it. These are the Orthodox Jews who argue that an artificial shift of the clock encourages Israelis in general to desecrate the Sabbath. Furthermore, certain Orthodox Jews are personally inconvenienced by summer time, by being limited in their time of worship.

"HOW WAS summer time? Do you regret giving in to pressure last April

and signing the order instituting it?" Burg was asked by *The Jerusalem Post* this week as he shuffled between radio and TV studios to be interviewed about the rebuff of the MKs at the Tel Mond prison and the presence of an Israeli flag in a police office on the Temple Mount.

"For me, personally, summer time's been great," replies Burg unhesitatingly. "I enjoyed the long Fridays, by getting an extra hour of work in before the onset of the Sabbath. And I enjoyed the long Sabbath, with an extra hour of that wonderful spiritual respite.

"Nevertheless, I have ignored appeals from some people to extend summer time for another month. First of all, I do not want to force schoolchildren and their parents to readjust to normal time once the school year has started."

"Another reason is respect for Sephardim, whose custom calls for daily pre-dawn *Selichot* prayers to begin on the first day of Elul (August 29). If these people are to get to work on schedule, they must be afforded ample time for *Selichot* as well as the daily *Shachrit* services that follow *Selichot*."

What about next year? "Let us wait for the committee to finish its work," says Burg. "There will be opinions pointing this way and that way. Why, there has even been disagreement over instituting summer time in the European Economic Community. Of course, fuel conservation is a prime consideration

here in Israel. But so are Jewish religious values. Let us wait for the committee to complete its work."

OF THE TWO DOZEN or so individuals and bodies appearing before the Baram Committee back in December 1983 to offer their views on summer time, none was more enthusiastic about the idea than the Ministry of Energy and Infrastructure.

Though many other witnesses before the committee presented a variety of pro-summer time arguments, the Energy Ministry's voice emerged loudest. The ministry is, after all, the government agency charged with squeezing the last coulomb of electricity out of every dollar spent on fuel oil or coal consumed by Israel's power-generating plants.

"Electricity costs us 64 cents per kilowatt-hour to produce," the director of the ministry's energy conservation department, Yosef Nowarski, told *The Post* this week. "That figure includes the fuel itself – coal or oil – and labour and infrastructure costs."

"If our summer time had lasted from April 1 to September 30, as in many other countries, we estimate we could have conserved 104 million kilowatt-hours of electricity – a savings of \$6.8m.

"There is no doubt in my mind that summer time is a very good idea for our country, especially with the use of air-conditioning on the increase from year to year. In fact, I wouldn't hesitate to recommend

double summer time – moving the clock ahead by two hours – as has been done in Britain and other countries.

Superimposing this summer's electricity demand graph on one for the summer of 1980, Nowarsky adds: "Look at that trend: until eight in the morning, summer time has a *negative* influence on energy conservation, with people putting on their lights at home. But the advantages are very apparent during the rest of the day. This is obviously due to the extraordinarily large quantities of power used for air-conditioning.

"Every year, we install more air conditioners – in homes, offices, and places of work. I believe that between 20 and 30 per cent of the money we saved through summer time this year came from the hour lopped off air-conditioners operating in factories and offices.

"In the European Community countries, an energy savings of 0.6 per cent is sufficient to justify the introduction of summer time – and they have plenty of coal, oil or nuclear power plants. So in Israel – where 0.9 per cent or more can be saved – summer time should definitely be made a permanent fixture."

BUT FORMER chief rabbi Shlomo Goren disagrees: "What are a few million – or even a few billion – dollars saved on energy compared to what we are losing in spiritual terms through wanton desecration of the Sabbath?" he asks.

"Through the centuries, we Jews have sacrificed so much to preserve the sanctity of the Sabbath. Now, look at what has happened in the State of Israel. Having established a homeland where Jews can at last observe their Sabbath with no problems, our so-called leaders go ahead and undermine that holy day with such measures as summer time."

Goren – whose tenure spanned both the Alignment and Likud regimes – senses a "definite deterioration" in the status of the Sabbath in the minds of non-Orthodox Israelis over the past few years.

"I had to fight for the Sabbath's sanctity throughout my term as chief rabbi," he says. "I had the most success under the Alignment, I must admit. Right after the Yom Kippur War, when the Arab oil boycott created a world-wide energy crisis, the late Golda Meir wanted to introduce summer time here. I spoke with her and explained that such a move would shatter an already weakened observance of the Sabbath in our country. "The reason was simple: non-Orthodox Israelis had become accustomed to determining the Sabbath's end not by the setting of the sun but by the hour at which restaurants, theatres, cinemas, and bus services began to operate on Saturday evening.

"And these services, in turn, unfortunately resume their operations – not on the basis of sunset but according to the clock. Seven-thirty p.m. is seven-thirty p.m. in their language. As a result, wholesale *hilul Shabbat* would start in broad daylight.

"Unfortunately, that grim warning – which Golda and later Yitzhak Rabin were wise enough to heed – was proved right this summer. My skin tingles in shame and pain when I see and hear what has occurred in Tel Aviv as a result of summer time 1984."

Goren believes that Burg should resign for having yielded to the pressure for summer time and ordering it to be instituted. "No High Court ruling could have forced him to do it," he declares.

"When the Knesset cancelled a Mandatory ordinance to give the interior minister sole authority in this matter, it should have been taken as a clear hint that where Jewish religious principles are concerned, there is no need whatsoever for a minister to surrender those principles."

WHAT ABOUT the millions of dollars the country would save in energy costs each year?

"Listen to me," says Goren. "Of course, six or seven million dollars is a considerable amount of money. But do you realize that almost all of that could be raised in a single fund-

raising dinner in the Diaspora? And isn't the status of the Sabbath in the Jewish state dear to our brethren in the Diaspora?

"But let us leave that argument altogether. Tell me, can you really put a price on the value of the Sabbath – not necessarily on measures to prevent its desecration, but even on the so-called little things that enshrine this single day of the week in the hearts of Orthodox Jews as a very special day?

"You speak of millions of dollars being saved. True, but what about that feeling in the heart of a young Jewish child, and the look on his face, as he sits at the Friday evening Sabbath table with the rest of his family? Isn't that worth something, too?

"By introducing summer time, that child must be put to bed long before his father returns from synagogue to begin the Sabbath rites, by singing the Kiddush with the wine cup held aloft before the beautiful Sabbath candles.

"Little things like a young child's participation in the Sabbath meal are what become the big things in Jewish life later on – the closely-woven family spirit for which we Jews have become known. How many dollars is that worth?

"No," he continues, "I'm not impressed by the saving of \$6.8 million in energy costs as a result of summer time. Even many more millions or billions of dollars saved are not going to make or break the Jewish state. What is going to make or break the State of Israel is the attitude of its people – religious and secular – to the keystone traditions of our faith. Sabbath observance is one of the most basic keystones."

As Rabbi Goren sees it, the summer time idea not only should be done away with for good, but prompt action should be taken by the Labour Party to put Petah Tikva Mayor Dov Tavori in his place for having enacted a bylaw legalizing the operation of businesses in his town on the Sabbath. "If this anti-Sabbath trend is not arrested, I'm afraid that the state is in real trouble."

NEW DOMESTIC EXPRESS MAIL SERVICE STARTED

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 3 Sep 84 p 3

[Article by Judy Siegel]

[Text]

A fleet of vehicles marked with blue-and-orange letters yesterday inaugurated the Communications Ministry's express mail service inside the country. Mail brought to one of 28 postal branches before 10 a.m. will reach the addressee by 5 p.m. the same day, or your money will be returned.

The express service is meant to serve those - mostly commercial interests - who depend on rapid delivery and who have in recent years used the services of private entrepreneurs in cars or on motorcycles. But ministry Director-General Zvi Zilker, introducing the new service at a news conference in Jerusalem yesterday, says it will be much cheaper than these private services.

A letter or package weighing up to one kilogram costs IS450 for express delivery if brought to one of 28 postal branches in the main towns before 10 a.m. From 10 to 15 kilograms, the cost is IS880. If delivery is

to the addressee rather than to the post office nearest him, the cost is IS710 for a letter or package up to one kilogram.

If the mail is brought to the branch after 10 a.m., delivery will be guaranteed by 10 a.m. the next day, Zilker said.

He told reporters that this was not a "mail service for the rich" as opposed to the current mail system. Instead, he declared, it was the provision of an additional choice to consumers who decide to pay more for more rapid service. Telephones and facsimile services are the quickest ways to transmit information. The express mail service is next, with the regular mail delivery the slowest.

Those needing quick delivery in places not yet included in the new operation will have to continue to use the private service. However, according to postal-services director Eitan Lachman, 16 places will be added in a few weeks.

Lachman said that the letters and parcels will not be insured by the

ministry, but that if they don't reach their destination on time, you may receive a refund.

Forty-four slots were added to the postal services, and some 20 workers received an increase in salary grades in partial compensation for increased responsibility, said Zilker.

The cost of the service will go up on the 16th of every month, linked to the Cost-of-Living index. Thus, unlike the regular mail services, where there is nearly 100 per cent subsidization, the express service will make some profit.

People who want door-to-door service pay extra, with an additional monthly subscribers' fee.

The express mail service to the U.S. has been operating for several months with considerable success, according to the ministry. A package up to half a kilogram costs IS7,760 for delivery anywhere in the U.S., with higher prices for heavier packages. A one-way express service to England also exists.

CSO: 4400/2

SHARK OIL INDUSTRY ESTABLISHED

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 3 Sep 84 p 6

[Article by Ya'acov Friedler]

[Text]

HAIFA. — A new export industry, in shark-oil, is to be established shortly to exploit the abundance of small sharks that infest the waters off our coast, *The Jerusalem Post* has learned.

The Israeli varieties of shark are very small, and harmless to humans, but contain a large quantity of squalene, a highly sought after oil, which makes them a valuable catch.

A recent survey by Dr. Alexander Gelman and Eliezer Eilat, fish technology experts at the Agriculture Ministry's Fisheries Research Station here, showed that catches of up to 1,000 tons annually are possible, at depths of 500 to 1,000 metres in the deep waters between Haifa and Cyprus. They recommended long-line methods to catch the sharks.

The fish, of the *centrophorus granulosus* variety, are only 75 to 100 centimetres long and weigh four to five kilograms.

But they have an unusually large liver, which makes up 25 per cent of their total weight. It has been found to contain a "uniquely" pure concentration of the highly valued squalene oil.

Squalene is in heavy demand in the cosmetics and pharmaceutical industries, especially for the treatment of heart diseases and skin cancer.

The oil fetches \$50 to \$90 per kg., when distilled to a purity of 98 to 100 per cent. The local sharks' squalene is 80 per cent pure and the fisheries experts are working with Technion specialists on a commercial method of upgrading the purity, which has reportedly been successful.

Sharks, unlike most other fish, don't have swimming bladders to keep them afloat, and instead have large livers filled with lighter than water squalene that keep them from sinking.

So far the main suppliers of squalene oil have been the Japanese,

who extract it from sharks with a much lower concentration.

The sharks will also provide by-products. The flesh has a very low fat content, making it ideal for dietetic and baby food, the skin is valuable as leather and the fins are in great demand in the Far East for a special soup.

Rabbi Baruch Edelstein, head of the Haifa Rabbinat's *kashrut* department told *The Post* that the name of the fish, or the fact that it is a predator, (which most fish are) does not automatically make it non-kosher.

If it has fins and scales there is no reason why it should not be kosher. However, his department checks out every new kind of fish caught. For instance, if the scales are very hard to remove, "there is a problem of *halacha*," he said.

To his knowledge these particular sharks have not yet been submitted for *kashrut* approval, and when they are he will examine them and make his decision.

CSO: 4400/2

EARTHQUAKE CAUSES NO SEVERE DAMAGE

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 26 Aug 84 p 12

[Article by Ya'acov Friedler]

[Text]

HAIFA. - This city took the brunt of a medium-sized earthquake that shook most of the country for 20 seconds just after 9 a.m. on Friday.

But though there was widespread panic there were no casualties and no serious damage. The quake registered 5 on the Richter scale, and its epicentre was some 20 kilometres out at sea west of the city.

Magen David Adom dealt with seven cases of hysteria. One elderly man suffered a heart attack and six others fainted.

Though it may have been the heaviest tremor since the earthquake that destroyed most of Safad in 1837, damage was confined to no more than a few cracks in walls, with no reported structural damage to any building.

But while the quake lasted furniture moved, books fell off shelves and in at least one case a grandfather clock was smashed as it fell over in its 14th floor flat.

Haifa's highest building, the 30-storey glass and steel Esbkol Tower of Haifa University, swayed, but except for a temporary difficulty in one of the lifts, was undamaged.

At the Hadera power station, vibrations apparently tripped an automatic safety switch, putting one of the four 350-megawatt generating units out of action. Two transforming substations in the Kishon area of

Haifa and near Lake Kinneret also broke down for about half an hour.

As a result, power cuts occurred in various places until the unit was put back into operation at 4 p.m. In the Kordaneh area of Kiryat Bialik, a high-tension cable was torn, causing local cuts for some time.

Though the epicentre was at sea, no ship or fishing boat reported being affected and no distress signals were picked up at the marine radio station.

But on the shore at the Carmel Beach, "the beach seemed to rock with the shock waves appearing to move like the sea. It was quite scary," bather Hanna Bramson reported.

The Town Hall's emergency service received nearly 900 reports of damage to flats, Mayor Arye Gurel told *The Jerusalem Post*. City personnel aided by Technion engineers toured the city but found that many of the cracks were old, and the others would need only superficial repairs.

The only serious damage occurred in Rehov Leon Blum, where a retaining wall crumbled, leaving a stretch of road hanging in the air. City officials fenced off the section, which is to be repaired today.

Almost everybody felt the quake, especially those in high-rise buildings. Many people rushed out into the streets, including mothers holding their children.

NEW TANK FIRE CONTROL SYSTEM

Haifa INNOVATION in English No 106 Sep 84 p 1

[Text]

Rehovot — Targets can be hit by the first round fired, at distances of up to 4,500 meters (almost three miles), by use of the Matador computerized tank fire control system. Developed by Electro-Optics Industries Ltd., this system reportedly has been installed in Israel's own Merkava tanks and proven in battle.

The Matador consists of a gunner's peritelescope, a minilaser range finder (MLRF) with control unit, a digital ballistic computer and various sensors. For combat in the dark, a passive night vision attachment is available.

The sensors provide important information on cant angle, crosswind velocity, angular velocity and powder temperature. This, together with readings automatically provided by the MLRF, as well as other data fed directly into the system's own logic capacity, enable the matador to achieve first round hits on moving targets, even while the tank is in side inclination. The night viewing system is completely passive. It features an image intensification tube with automatic gain. Magnification is 7x, and image brightness is adjustable.

The Matador is extremely flexible, due to its modular design. That makes this system eminently suitable for the upgrading of almost any type of armored combat vehicle now in use, including the American Patton, Soviet equipment of the T series, as well as older types, such as the WWII Sherman and British Centurions.

CSO: 4400/2

'UBAYDAT LAUNCHES ANTI-CORRUPTION CAMPAIGN

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic No 337, 27 Aug 84 pp 18-19

[Article by Yusuf al-Raymawi, "'Ubaydat Raised the Battle-Cry Against Corruption and King Husayn Said: Yes"]

[Text] In addition to phosphates, the Gulf of 'Aqaba, and the archeological city of Petra, Jordan derives its fame in world capitals from the fact that it is a country that enjoys a high degree of political and social stability, and from the fact that it continues to progress, slowly, but noticeably and increasingly so.

A few months ago a new Jordanian government came to power, the government of Mr Ahmad 'Ubaydat, who before that used to be the Interior Minister in the government of his predecessor, Mr Mudirr Badran. Both men, Badran and 'Ubaydat, belong to the same school in the administration and in politics, for they came to power after long experience in the military and security organizations, and were well known for their integrity, clean hands, and clear religious inclinations.

This introduction is necessary for understanding what is happening now in Jordan on various fronts, political, economic, and therefore and in particular, administrative.

When Ahmad 'Ubaydat came to power, the prevailing impression among people was that nothing new would happen. But since the return of parliamentary life in Jordan coincided with the advent of 'Ubaydat's government, many began expecting specific important changes.

And in fact, changes began to follow one another under the dome of the returning parliament, where for the first time since representation was halted in 1974, the concerns of all Jordanian citizens were presented, especially those concerning general freedoms and the rights and duties of citizens. These all used to be taboo subjects that used to be discussed in whispers and were not heard outside of private circles and closed conversations.

The people welcomed these fundamental changes gladly, but they attributed them to the reinstated parliament, not to the new government nor to its young head, Ahmad 'Ubaydat. Matters remained thus until the parliamentary recess began

in the first part of last April, when people began to wait for Parliament to be recalled to its next session to resume the democratic process of change.

However, the Prime Minister, Ahmad 'Ubaydat, was not one of those who waited, and instead of the parliamentary recess being a period of stagnation, it changed into a period of activity and great change in many fields, especially the administrative field, and in restructuring ministries and government establishments within the administrative structure.

What happened was that Ahmad 'Ubaydat, since the day he came to power, has proclaimed the attractive motto: "Clean hands, and merciless war against corruption." It is a motto that has always been proclaimed, but it always sought in vain for a way to be implemented because of the plague of contacts and bribes which paralyse any sincere attempt at change.

But Ahmad 'Ubaydat was serious and determined to keep on bearing his slogan until it brought about tangible changes that people could see and whose effects they could feel in their daily lives. The first step was to get rid of some of those who have high positions and who have more or less established what resemble "fiefdoms" which they administer, and those who have gotten used to operating more or less with complete independence and are constantly the object of people's talk and complaints.

But the matter did not stop there. The narcotics smuggling affair suddenly erupted, and the first one accused in the matter was the head of the anti-narcotics division himself. After that, the list of other important names grew long, especially after it became clear that narcotics smuggling was taking place side more serious smuggling, that of arms, out of Jordan.

After those accused in the narcotics affair were brought to justice, corruption was completely unmasked, whereupon two important issues emerged.

The first was the issue of bribes, commissions, and buying of favors in the administration of the territories. More than 500 people were charged in that, including those with important names and positions. They were all brought to justice, and the court is now continuing the investigation without restrictions or pressure.

Secondly - there was another similar problem of bribes and commissions, but this time it was in the government of the capital Amman. It also involved many important names and led to resignations and attempts at fleeing, all in vain, for all those whose names turned up in this matter were brought before the court.

These three issues: narcotics, the territories, and the government of the capital, dominated talk in the streets, and the Jordanian citizen was convinced that the motto, "Clean Hands," was beginning to become reality.

But these issues in themselves were an extremely important and serious indication of the fact that administrative corruption was a practically universal phenomenon, and that the matter needed something stronger than the usual measures; that is,

it needed radical treatment to straighten everything out and improve the equality and effectiveness of the system and laws, and to tighten supervision of various departments and subject everything to close scrutiny.

This radical solution came quickly, on the personal initiative of King Husayn, who sent a letter to Prime Minister Ahmad 'Ubaydat ordering the formation of what is called "the royal commission for administrative advancement", headed by the prime minister himself and having as members a number of ministers and officials including: Khalil al-Salim, the economics and administrative expert and former director of the Central Bank of Jordan; Tahir Hikmat, the current minister of transportation and an illustrious lawyer before that; and Dr Taysir 'Abd-al-Jabir, minister of labor; and Hanna 'Awdah, finance minister; and 'Abd-al-Ra'uf al-Rawabidah, mayor of Amman, and others.

In his letter to 'Ubaydat, King Husayn assured his prime minister that the commission should review everything from the beginning, and it should define its own powers and the bounds within which it will operate. In other words, King Husayn gave Mr Ahmad 'Ubaydat the green light to continue carrying out his motto and gave him all the power he wanted to achieve that goal.

This big change, as observers say, is only the beginning, and they - that is, the observers - whisper that the next step will be much bigger, and they hint that it - that is, the big step that is expected - will be permission to resume party activity in Jordan, a dream which has attracted every Jordanian citizen since the last party experience in Jordan in 1957.

One of the observers told AL-DUSTUR, "King Hysayn wanted to bring about a comprehensive change in the state's administrative structure, so that the structure would be able to face the greater change, that being the resumption of party life."

He added, "The Jordanian citizen will not have to wait long, for everything is ready to allow the freedom to form parties. But there is more than just a 'political gathering' for preparations have begun in fact to change into an officially recognized party." He gave as an example the gathering led by the attorney Mr Faris al-Nabulsi, son of the late Sulayman al-Nabulsi, former prime minister of Jordan and head of the National Socialist Party. The younger al-Nabulsi is now getting ready, along with many well-known personalities, to revive the National Socialist Party once again.

There is nothing for us to do, except wait.

12547

CSO: 4404/620

LABOR MINISTRY PREDICTS EMPLOYMENT PATTERNS FOR GRADUATES

Amman AL-RA'Y in Arabic 28 Jul 84 p 5

[Article: "In Labor Ministry Study: Expected Employment of Approximately 18,000 Engineers and 13,000 Doctors in Jordan by 1990"]

[Text] 'Adil Lutfi As'ad, director of the studies department of the Labor Ministry, has prepared a study on the impact of the expansion in secondary and higher education on the supply of certain specialists in Jordan up to 1990.

The study showed that the number of engineers expected to begin work in Jordan by 1990 is between 11,000 and 18,000.

The study made clear that the number of doctors expected to begin work in Jordan by 1990 is between 8,500 and 13,000. In actual supply that comes to one doctor for every 235 and 360 persons.

Actual Supply

The study anticipates that the annual average increase in actual supply from vocational secondary education will be approximately 28 percent during the period 1984-1990. The average annual increase for male graduates with vocational majors from community colleges will be about 9 percent during the period 1984-1990, with the comprehensive examination. As for female graduates, the average annual increase for the same period will be 11.9 percent. The average increase anticipated in actual supply will be 7 percent annually for males during the period 1984-1990 and 9.5 percent annually for females during the same period.

The study showed that male graduates in commercial, engineering and medical fields of specialization from the community college level will have an annual average increase during the period 1984-1990 of 8.9 percent, 9 percent and 9 percent in succession. Female graduates will have an average annual increase in the same fields of specialization and during the same period of 15.2 percent and 15 percent in succession. The average annual increase for male graduates with academic majors in the humanities, education, psychology, Islamic law, law and physical education will be 11.9 percent during the period 1984-1990. Female graduates will have an average annual increase of approximately 15 percent during the same period.

The study confirmed the continued need of the labor market for majors in engineering and medicine from community colleges. The study anticipated that students graduating with majors in business from community colleges and universities would face unemployment in the last half of the 1980's, because of competition from secondary vocational (trade) school students.

Unemployment for Engineers and Doctors

It is expected that the crisis for engineers (unemployment) will become distinctly worse by 1990, more so than for doctors. As for doctors, if they can be well-distributed among the various population clusters, the unemployment they are expected to face by 1990 will be less severe than that which engineers are expected to face.

The anticipated number of doctors by 1990 will have demographic and economic repercussions on the population in Jordan, especially with regard to death and health care.

The study anticipates that Jordanian engineers will work in jobs below their level of specialization, as assistant engineers, for instance. This is due to the predicted large numbers of these engineers, numbers which do not correspond to anticipated demand for them, and to the lack of assistant engineers.

The study confirmed that the crack in the pyramid of vocational levels in Jordan will continue up to 1990. It is expected that there will be fewer technicians (mid-level community colleges) than specialists (universities), although it should be the contrary.

The study confirmed the continued surplus of academic majors in the humanities, education, psychology, Islamic law, law and physical education.

The study concluded that the expansion in secondary and higher education during the period 1981-1990 will cause a surplus in certain fields of specialization which the labor market needed during the 1970's. Also, the bottlenecks in certain fields of specialization which prevailed in the labor market in the past will remain, and the need for those fields will continue. One example of this is majors in medicine from the community college level.

Directing Students

The study recommended paying more attention to guiding and directing students in various ways to study the fields of specialization needed by Jordanian society. The absence of sound planning and guidance in addition to other social and economic factors have played a large role in the emergence of the surplus, in certain fields of specialization, which prevails in the Jordanian labor market at present.

The study recommended that some legislation in Jordan be amended as an indirect way to curb interest in certain fields of specialization. According to the researcher, some of these laws have affected the orientation of students, with the help of their legal guardians, to study certain fields of specialization

which qualify them to occupy important social and economic positions, in the opinion of society. One example of this legislation is the civil service law, in force, No 23 of 1966 and the law on combined technical subsidies, No 3 of 1977. These two regulations affect certain fields of specialization. For example, an engineer who is a recent graduate is given the rank of fifth class and a high technical subsidy which is 100 percent of his base pay. Accordingly, a university graduate with a major in English, for example, receives the rank of seventh class and a technical subsidy of 40 percent of base pay. Meanwhile, a graduate of the community college level (vocational specialization) receives the rank of ninth class and a technical subsidy of 40 percent. (If he studied in a community college for 3 years, the graduate who is employed in the government sector receives the rank of eighth class and his technical subsidy remains 40 percent of base pay.) In 1983, for example, the newly graduated engineer, according to the preceding, received a monthly salary of 194 Jordanian dinars on the average. The university graduate (baccalaureate) with a major in English received 105 Jordanian dinars on the average. The lab technician from the community college level received 85 Jordanian dinars per month.

Student Exchanges

The study recommended that exchange students of the Ministry of Education and other agencies concerned must be directed toward fields of specialization needed by Jordanian society. Most of these student exchanges have come as a result of what certain fraternal nations friendly to Jordan have offered. Most of them stem from the large number of empty seats in the institutes and universities of these nations. For the most part no consideration is given to Jordan's need for such fields of specialization. In addition, there are the many academic scholarships of certain charitable organizations and Jordanian associations of friendship with various countries. These organizations send Jordanian students to study abroad, without taking into consideration Jordan's need for these scholarships obtained by the associations. In light of this, we propose to the parties concerned, such as the Ministry of Education and the Council on Higher Education, to control, plan and guide such scholarships according to the needs of Jordanian society.

In its recommendations the study confirmed the importance of trying to distribute doctors in a manner corresponding to the size of population clusters, by using various ways and means to limit their concentration in the Capital Governorate and especially in the city of Amman. Recent graduates might be asked to serve for a certain time, 1 year or more, in hospitals and health centers located outside the city of Amman. There might be restrictions on opening private clinics in the capital. Incentives and bonuses might be created for those wishing to open a private clinic in rural areas and other populated areas which have few doctors, despite the need for them. Better use could be made of doctors by urging them to specialize in fields of medicine which will be needed in the future labor market, such as vocational medicine, for example.

The issuance of the law on community colleges could be speeded up. It would contribute toward raising the capability of these colleges to produce qualified and well-trained graduates.

The author of the study, 'Adil Lutfi, proposed studying the fields of specialization which his study did not cover and conducting other studies concerning demand for fields of specialization, in order to create some kind of congruity between education and the labor market.

7811

CSO: 4404/606

PRIME MINISTER URGES DEVELOPMENT OF AL-'AQABAH

Amman AL-RA'Y in Arabic 23 Jul 84 pp 1, 23

[Article by Ahmad Zughaylat: "'Ubaydat Calls for Comprehensive Development of al-'Aqabah Region"]

[Text] Prime Minister Ahmad 'Ubaydat has confirmed the necessity of continuing serious, dedicated work to develop the al-'Aqabah region and raise the level of services offered citizens in the district.

Mr 'Ubaydat chaired a meeting of directors of departments and official institutions in the city of al-'Aqabah yesterday morning. He said that all parties and official and popular organs in the al-'Aqabah region are urged to face their responsibilities with the utmost seriousness, faithfully and sincerely, to achieve the comprehensive development of the al-'Aqabah region in various fields and domains.

The prime minister expressed hope that his meeting with all official and popular enterprises in the al-'Aqabah region was a practical beginning for promoting the process of progress and development in this area of our beloved country, with a clear and responsible understanding of the duties of every agency, according to stipulations of the laws and regulations.

Mr 'Ubaydat confirmed the necessity of working to execute the laws and regulations issued by the government through directives from King Husayn for development of the al-'Aqabah region, in order to achieve the lofty, noble goals which have been targeted.

He said that fortunately in Jordan we are proud of being able to move our institutions in a responsible manner, despite the difficulties we face, through total commitment, responsible dialogue, truthfulness in dealing with the citizenry, candor in discussion of the difficulties and problems we face, and good will in all work we undertake.

He added that official and popular institutions in al-'Aqabah are urged to invest the time necessary and exploit it for the benefit and profit of al-'Aqabah and its inhabitants.

He said that we in this country are urged to invest the time well to complete the course of work which King Husayn leads, with full confidence and strength.

The prime minister said that there is no room for Jordanian citizens how different their positions, to go backwards. Nor is there stand still for a moment, except to review responsibly what has been planned in order to go forward with a spirit of determination, energy and sincerity.

In discussing certain administrative and technical problems confronting the course of work in organizing the al-'Aqabah region, Mr 'Ubaydat said that the highest common denominator for solving these problems is good will, mutual confidence and integrity in taking on responsibility and a reliable, sound attitude to solve and treat the problems.

He said that everyone here must work with a team spirit and shared responsibility, developing the genuine, constructive cooperation between citizen and official which Jordan has known.

The prime minister confirmed that it was necessary to support and develop the cooperation which exists among the various state agencies in al-'Aqabah and give the programs for coordination among them full consideration and attention.

In response to the demands of the municipality of al-'Aqabah, Mr 'Ubaydat confirmed the government's readiness and desire to help the municipality and support it in raising and improving the level of services offered to inhabitants of the city.

He said that the government is currently taking measures having to do with setting up an industrial park in al-'Aqabah, and work on implementation is to begin early next year.

The prime minister expressed his satisfaction with measures taken to protect the environment in al-'Aqabah port. They have contributed toward a clean-up in the port. He confirmed the necessity of continuing to apply and pursue clean-up measures in the port. Mr 'Ubaydat recommended that an environment office be set up at al-'Aqabah port with representatives from the ministries of health, municipal and rural affairs and environment and other agencies concerned to follow up on the application of cleanliness and public health principles in the region.

The prime minister issued instructions to begin immediately drafting an urgent organization plan for the popular quarters in al-'Aqabah according to the urban development plan, through cooperation among the al-'Aqabah Regional Authority, the Ministry of Municipal and Rural Affairs and Environment and the Housing Authority and to implement rapidly the project for sewers and water in the city.

The meeting began at 1100 hours yesterday morning. It was attended by the deputy prime minister and minister of interior, the ministers of trade and industry, tourism, transport, municipal and rural affairs and environment, the president of the Water Authority, the director general of the Housing Authority, the governor of Ma'an, the al-'Aqabah District officer, and the chairman and members of the municipal council.

Also attending the meeting were the director general of the Lands and Survey Department, director of the Tourism Authority, and director general of the Port Organization, in their capacity as members of the al-'Aqabah Authority board.

At the beginning of the meeting Muhammad Sa'id Abu Nawwar, president of the al-'Aqabah Regional Authority, gave a speech in which he welcomed the prime minister and ministers and explained the accomplishments realized by the authority since it was established 5 months ago.

Abu Nawwar presented the work plan scheduled for the region. It aims at bringing about the comprehensive development of this region.

The ministers and directors of departments concerned submitted the programs of their ministries and departments to contribute toward the development of the al-'Aqabah region.

Salih al-Kibarayti, president of al-'Aqabah municipality, gave a speech in which he welcomed the prime minister. He said that the people of the city are waiting for the achievement of more projects which will benefit and improve their city.

He said that the city of al-'Aqabah had received the consideration and attention of King Husayn and successive governments. This had had a significant impact on raising and improving the level of services there.

The vice president of the municipality presented requests concerning reorganization of certain popular quarters in the city and praised governmental efforts to take care of citizens' affairs in the city.

Al-'Aqabah District officer Khalil Khraysat gave a speech during the meeting. He discussed district requirements concerning developing and raising the level of social, health and touristic services in the district.

Mr al-Khraysat said that the problems confronting the city of al-'Aqabah stem from the great jump in the city's population following the significant economic development witnessed by al-'Aqabah in the last few years.

The district officer confirmed the necessity of working to develop and raise the level of services offered by tourist offices in al-'Aqabah District in order to meet the large increase in the number of tourists coming to the city.

The district officer proposed that a single office be created to organize passenger transportation to and from the city of al-'Aqabah to reduce the problems encountered by those traveling to and from the city.

On Monday Mr 'Ubaydat is scheduled to chair the big, formal meeting of official and popular enterprises in al-'Aqabah District. It is being held on the occasion of Mr 'Ubaydat's current visit to the district.

During the meeting the prime minister will present government directives for implementing many measures and programs aimed at developing and raising the level of social, educational, health and tourist services in al-'Aqabah District.

Mr 'Ubaydat will reveal during the meeting how work is progressing in implementing a number of development projects now underway in the district and ways to raise and improve work standards in them.

The prime minister will hear the requests of popular and municipal organizations in the district and exchange views with officials on how to raise the level of services offered citizens in various domains.

General directors of industrial, commercial and tourist enterprises, members of the al-'Aqabah municipal council and chamber of commerce, directors of departments, organizations, companies, charitable associations and clubs, and leaders and prominent figures in the district will participate in the meeting.

Prime Minister Ahmad 'Ubaydat chaired a working meeting last evening. Present were the deputy prime minister and minister of interior, and the ministers of transport, trade and industry, tourism, municipal and rural affairs and environment. Also attending the meeting were the president of the al-'Aqabah Regional Authority, the governor of Ma'an and a number of officials.

In an interview with a correspondent of the Jordanian News Agency, Sulayman 'Arrar, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Interior, said that the meeting was limited to discussion of the details of requests and proposals of the expanded meeting which Prime Minister 'Ubaydat held with Jordanian governors, department directors and officials in the al-'Aqabah region yesterday morning.

Mr 'Arrar said that during the meeting a number of decisions and recommendations were made concerning the handling of requests and proposals raised by department heads and district officials which aim at strengthening efforts of the al-'Aqabah Regional Authority to develop and raise the level of public services in the district. Mr 'Arrar said the the decisions taken would bring about the greater development and improvement which the government is seeking in the level of services and consequently in the service of citizens of the city of al-'Aqabah and the district.

7811

CSO: 4404/606

NEW SECURITY SERVICE FORMED

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 392, 25 Aug 84 pp 13, 14

[Article: "First Arab Agency for Protecting Personalities and Establishments"]

[Text] For the first time, there was established in Jordan an agency specializing in defense and protection that takes on the protection of important personages, the places they frequent, public and private industrial and trade establishments, and public utilities. Assuming the presidency of this agency is Lieutenant General, 'Abd al-Hadi al-Majali (Ret.), former Jordanian ambassador to Washington and former Jordanian chief of staff. During the press conference held by Mr al-Majali, he said that this establishment is unique of its kind in the region, and that it arose as a result of modern world developments and the political, economic, and social complications that accompanied these developments, especially in the Middle East. These circumstances showed the need for protection from terrorism and organized and non-organized crime, and that called for the creation of organized protection using scientific methods. Mr al-Majali said: "Therefore, we began to think about establishing 'The Middle East Agency for Defense and Protection.' This agency is prepared to secure installations, set them up as integrated systems, operate and maintain them, and train those working in them in training centers." Mr al-Majali added: "We have now begun in Jordan to set up such things, and our aim is to move into other Arab countries, especially the Gulf states." And he said: "The Jordanian agency for defense and protection exists to serve and to participate in the security of the nation and the citizens, though it is not a substitute for the various security departments; rather it is a back-up to them. One of the functions of this agency is the protection of important personages and the places which they frequent, and the protection of public and private establishments, whether industrial, trade, or public utilities. It carries out these functions using scientific methods, evaluating and defining the dangers and threats, and creating guaranteed ways of nullifying these dangers using technically trained cadres, in addition to the use of modern, technical equipment which works at all times under all circumstances."

12547

CSO: 4404/620

BRIEFS

'UBAYDAT RESIGNATIONS--AL-TADAMUN has learned that the prime minister of Jordan, Mr Ahmad 'Ubaydat, twice submitted his resignation to King Husayn of Jordan during the past month, but that the king rejected it and gave his prime minister broad powers to purge government facilities and installations in which administrative corruption was so rampant that some senior officials were involved in suspicious deals and smuggling operations. On the strength of the royal assurances, 'Ubaydat is uncovering many secrets which he was able to learn about during the time he was head of general intelligence operations and interior minister, shortly before he became prime minister. [Text] [London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 72, 25 Aug 84 p 5] 12547

CSO: 4404/620

NVOI COMMENTARY ON PRO-WEST FACTION IN ISLAMIC LEADERSHIP

GF221810 (Clandestine) National Voice of Iran in Persian 1730 GMT 20 Sep 84

[Commentary: "Truly Woe Be Upon the Revolution"]

[Excerpts] Dear compatriots, recent remarks by Ayatollah Khomeyni concerning statements issued by some who claim that the government has committed illegal acts and who want to weaken the government has brought about discussions in the media of the Islamic republic, including its four newspapers. It is clear that Ayatollah Khomeyni is not referring to the revolutionary forces who are true to the revolution and who consider both the Islamic leadership and the government traitors to the revolution and its goals. The target is the certain faction of the Islamic leadership led by the members of Hojjatiyeh who are rubbing their foreheads on the American and British doorsteps. This is the faction that feels more powerful now and is thus seeking opponents to the constitution and even Vali-ye Faqih.

An article some months ago in ETTELA'AT noted that the argument is no longer over the government or the prime minister--Imam is the center of all things! Thus, the constitution which has been a solid anchor for the revolution has rightly or wrongly been put under question and continues to be doubted. The revolution council, the initial judicial authorities, and the Majlis have been other anchors of the revolution. These organizations also continue to be put under question. Should these powerful apparatus come under such question and doubt, then we have to say woe be upon the revolution. This is a true and sincere statement. This leadership, whether they call themselves moderate or those who have clearly and openly put under question both the constitution and the original revolution organizations are all feeding from the same trough. This is to say that all these factions are working to strengthen the system of the large feudalists and supercapitalists. They are united in carrying out the goals of their British and American masters, and united in their wild animosity toward any scientific or revolutionary idea, in opposition to all valuable cultural, traditional, and national values, and in opposition to free thinking.

This murderous and treacherous leadership has committed treason against the revolution by fulfilling the demands of great feudalists, economic terrorists, hoarders, and city feudalists. The repeated retreats of the officials and

their traitorous turn to the right has further encouraged the rabid leadership to be more offensive to the extent that now they openly want to usurp all power. This faction, which talks about an Islam with jurisprudence, needs a government and a president with jurisprudence so that it can openly support large merchants, idolatrous bazaaris, feudalists, and their Western masters. Vali-ye Faqih himself, playing a pivotal role in all these actions and reactions at the highest level of the Islamic leadership and by necking with both factions of the regime--there is no doubt about their support for the system of usury and for revitalization of friendly ties with the West--has effectively faced the country with the present crisis and as a result conditions have been created whereby both the constitution and powerful anchor have come under question.

What is most notable and expanding rapidly each day is the increasing lack of confidence in this dastardly, bloody, and deceitful leadership and an intensification to objections and struggle against it. People have come to realize that their religious beliefs have become the toys of a handful of deceitful mullahs who support gold-grabbers and who are agents of the intelligence service and CIA in the guise of clergy. The solution to the crisis of the Islamic leadership is a united struggle by all the forces faithful to the revolution in a united front against this usurping leadership in order to achieve the goals of the revolution and to establish a national, popular, and anti-imperialist government.

CSO: 4640/22

NVOI REITERATES OPPOSITION TO IRAN-IRAQ WAR

TA211951 (Clandestine) National Voice of Iran in Persian 1730 GMT 19 Sep 84

[Unattributed commentary: "Let us Put an End to the U.S.-desired War"]

[Excerpts] Dear compatriots: Shortly we will be approaching the 5th anniversary of the destructive Iran-Iraq war, as well as the continuation of slaughter of Iranian youths and teenagers at the fronts of the futile war of attrition that is entirely to the benefit of world-devouring America and the Zionist Israel.

On the eve of the 5th anniversary of the U.S.-desired war, the Islamic regime's warmongering rulers, by proclaiming and holding war week have tried to glorify this destructive war that is despised and rejected by world public opinion, and have repeated their foolish decision to continue the war until so-called victory.

Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the regime's spokesman, at Tehran's 24 August Friday prayer, once again repeated the reactionary and anti-human stance of the Islamic regime's leadership and said: The war, as we have said all along and will repeat a thousand times to anyone who comes here, will end only when Saddam and the Ba'th Party are removed from Iraq, and the Iraqi people are liberated.

Particularly during war week the regime's leaders, in order to justify the prolongation of the destructive war against Iraq and to hunt down additional victims from among the youths and teenagers, tried to portray the war as being anti-imperialist and anti-American, and impudently claimed that allegedly war against Iraq is tantamount to war against America. However, who is not aware that this war is only to the benefit of world-devouring America and the Zionist Israel, and who in our tyranny-stricken Iran is not aware that every single day's prolongation of this war is counting the deaths of a large number of the country's youths, the destruction of the homes of toiling people, the ruin of villages and towns, and the squandering of the national wealth of our homeland's people.

On the eve of the anniversary of this desrructive war, our homeland's people themselves were actual witnesses to the defeat of the satanic aims of the Islamic rulers in holding war week. The people in practice, by welcoming the

joint statement by the Central Committee of the Tudeh Party of Iran and the Central Committee of the Feda'iyān Khalq Iran Organization, majority, entitled "Let us turn war week into the week of struggle for peace," declared their firm and persistent demand for terminating this U.S.-desired war.

CSO: 4640/21

NVOI COMMENTS ON ANNIVERSARY OF IRAN-IRAQ WAR

TA241202 (Clandestine) National Voice of Iran in Persian 1730 GMT 23 Sep 84

[Unattributed commentary: "Anniversary of Disasters and Deprivations"]

[Excerpts] Dear compatriots: In connection with the approach of the anniversary of the imposed war, the Islamic regime's warmongering leaders are beating louder on the hollow drum of the need to continue the war until victory--which is rightly called by the people: War until misery.

The tragic-stricken people of our mullah-afflicted homeland, who are shouldering the heavy burden of this destructive war, are fed up with its prolongation. They persistently demand that an end be put to this U.S.-desired war through just and honorable conditions.

Despite so many social and economic problems and difficulties: hoarding and profiteering, a shortage of essential goods, the people's poverty and deprivation--all of which stem from the crimes of the regime's leaders and the war's continuation--the leaders of the Islamic regime, who entertain the thought of exporting their notorious Islamic Revolution to Iraq, are foolishly and childishly insisting of prolonging the war. By raising such notorious slogans as: War, war until victory, they try to keep the war's fever at high pitch, thus diverting the people from paying heed to the country's urgent and vital problems.

The regime's leaders are cowardly abusing the people's patriotic feelings and are not telling the people that this war has long ago lost its just nature, and that it has been transformed into an aggressive war which is being fanned by rulers of the Islamic Republic with the aim of settling accounts with leaders of the Iraqi regime and exporting their own notorious revolution.

On the other hand, one can also not overlook the fact that, in turn, the prolongation of this war is to the benefit of hoarders and economic terrorists within the country, and to the benefit of imperialism in general, and U.S. imperialism in particular, abroad. The regime's leaders are well aware that the prolongation of this war provides U.S. imperialism with the pretext of consolidating its positions in the region. It is not without reason that U.S. imperialism is endeavoring to fan the flames of this destructive and futile war.

Our homeland's people are sensing all these bitter facts with their whole beings. Therefore, they are raising their voices of protest against this war, and are demanding that an immediate end be put to this war through just and honorable conditions. Our homeland's people have learned through experience that no dispute exists between them and the Moslem Iraqi people that cannot be solved through negotiations. The Iranian people want peace, and are of the opinion that a military settlement to the disputes between the two countries is not possible, and that the cessation of hostilities and the establishment of a lasting peace between the two neighboring countries is to the benefit of the nations of both countries and to the detriment of regional reaction and international imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism.

In connection with the approach of the anniversary of the outbreak of the war between Iran and Iraq, the toiling Iranian people loudly demand that this war be terminated as soon as possible, and that the Satanic and warmongering plans of regional reaction, of the ignorance-nurturing and hegemonistic Islamic rulers of Iran, as well as of imperialism, be foiled through the establishment of peace and tranquility between the two hostile countries.

CSO: 4640/20

SCANDALS AMONG MINISTERS DISCUSSED

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic No 337, 27 Aug 84 pp 23-24

[Article by 'Ali Nurizadeh]

[Text] When the second session of the Islamic State Council came to order on 28 May 1984, Prime Minister Mir Hoseyn Musavi routinely submitted his resignation to Hojjat ol-Eslam Khamene'i, president of the republic. However, Khamene'i did not return Musavi to the prime ministry, as was expected. Instead, he began to consult with some of the religious leaders and members of the Islamic Republic Party to come to an agreement on the formation of a new government headed by someone trusted by the influential people, despite the fact that Musavi is a half-brother of Khamene'i, the one who made him prime minister. The poor economic situation and the increasing popular resentment caused by the high cost of living, unemployment and continuing war required a scapegoat. And who was better fitted to play this role than Musavi whom the Iranians believe knows nothing and does nothing except serve his brother and worship the Vali Faqih?

Musavi was also said to be a suitable scapegoat because of his past. He was a member of the Khatt ol-Imam group which seized the American diplomats in Iran. The rumors about his secret relations with the communists and socialist countries make it impossible for him to play the Western card when Khamene'i and his followers decide it is time to turn to the West and normalize relations with the European countries and the United States.

The person who has the capital to qualify as his replacement is Dr 'Ali Akbar Velayati, Iranian minister of foreign affairs who has the desired qualifications for the coming stage.

To begin with, he is known in the West where he obtained his degree in medicine from Princeton University [as published].

Second, during the struggle and disputes of the factions contending for power in Iran, he did not identify with any of them, remaining neutral to this day.

This was at a time when Musavi stood on several occasions alongside Khamene'i's only rival. Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi Rafsanjani, and defended him. This last reason why Khamene'i decided to submit to parliament the name of Velayati as a replacement for Musavi was that he had obtained a list of names of the deputies

who do not trust Musavi and will try to topple him in parliament in case Khamene'i tries to nominate him as prime minister. The list included the names of such prominent members of the State Council as Ayatollah 'Azeri Qomi, president of the teachers' association at the religious seminary in Qom. When we learn that the appointment of prayer imams and the elevation of the titles of religious leaders from Thiqat ol-Eslam to Hojjat ol-Eslam and then to ayatollah (this is one of the prerogatives of the association), we realize that Khamene'i was not wrong in his decision. However, it did not occur to him that Rafsanjani would defend Musavi publicly and try to induce Khomeyni to intervene in his behalf.

On Friday, 3 August Rafsanjani announced in his Friday prayer sermon that the imam had told him during his visit to Jamaran 2 hours before that the prime minister enjoys his confidence and "ordered me to inform you of this support and confidence."

The same evening Mir Hoseyn Musavi visited Khomeyni's headquarters and although he stayed there only 10 minutes because Khomeyni was in his private "hospital" room, Iranian television and radio directed by Mohammed Hashemi, brother of the president of the Islamic State Council, announced several times Musavi's visit to Jamaran and did so right at the beginning of the newscast and in such a way that one might gather that Musavi reviewed for Khomeyni his government's achievements, whereupon Khomeyni blessed him and ordered him to keep on working for Islam and the people.

Thus, Khamene'i was forced to abandon his decision and present Musavi to parliament as engaged in consultations to choose the members of his ministry.

Sessions began last week to determine the powers of the ministers and obtain a vote of confidence. Khamene'i tried to give assurances that the five members who represent him and at the same time enjoy the protection of moderates in parliament and the rightest "Hojjatiyeh" group known for its opposition to the communists outside of parliament would retain their portfolios. Mir Hoseyn Musavi promised Khamene'i that the situation in parliament was not indicative of any serious opposition to him and his ministers. The deputies who participate in the sessions will not attack the government after receiving the imam's advice regarding the need to defend the government. Before entering the first session to discuss the vote of confidence, he telephoned Khamene'i, as an Iranian reporter who accompanied Musavi to parliament told us, and said that the vote of confidence session would not last more than half an hour and that parliament would give Musavi's government a vote of confidence without the deputies questioning the powers of the ministers separately.

Musavi entered the hall of parliament and after Rafsanjani announced the opening of the session, Musavi began to present the names of his ministers. There were no new faces among them except Hojjat ol-Eslam Reyshahri, president of the military revolutionary tribunals to whom Musavi gave the portfolio of Ministry of Security and Information that was recently created to replace the security apparatus of the Savama organization, Hasan Ibrahim Habibi, the last member of the Paris group that comprised Bani Sadr, Qotbzadeh, Dr Yazdi when Khomeyni was in Paris. The only one of them to remain in the field is Habibi

whom Musavi presented to Parliament as minister of justice and Sirajeddin Kazeruni as minister of housing.

Contrary to the expectations of Khamene'i and Musavi, the deputies did not give the government a vote of confidence within half an hour or even during the session. In fact, a group of deputies who decided to act as the opposition began to attack violently not Musavi or his government but the five ministers who represented Khamene'i's wing. The five ministers [as published] were Minister of Education and Training 'Ali Akbar Parvaresh, a leader of the Hojjatiyeh group, Minister of Defense Colonel Salimi, Minister of Health Dr Najavi, and Minister of Industries Hashemi, who played a prominent role in opposing Tudeh, the Iranian Communist Party. Tudeh Party chief Nuraddin Kiyanuri, now in jail, accused him of being in the pay of the United States.

No one believed the session called to give a vote of confidence to the Musavi government would turn into a trial of the five ministers.

Likewise, no one expected that Khamene'i would try to take revenge on Rafsanjani who led the attack on the five ministers sympathetic to the president of the republic by giving a green light to his followers in parliament to expose the financial scandals in the ministries headed by individuals sympathetic to Rafsanjani.

The sole beneficiary of this dispute was the Iranian people who discovered hitherto unknown secrets of the struggle for power and what was said in parliament by representatives of the Islamic State Council and its ministers about the corruption and crimes committed by the Musavi government.

When one of the deputies attacked Minister of Health Dr Manafi [as published] one of the five ministers, accusing him of neglect, failure to launch suitable health projects to prevent disease, insufficient beds in the hospitals, and small number of doctors, the minister defended himself by revealing that 15,000 Iranian physicians have fled since Khomeyni came to power.

He said the failure of patients to secure beds in the hospitals is due to the increasing number of casualties suffered in the military operations--an average of 35,000, that is, in a major operation like Fajr or Khabir or an average of 10,000 wounded in a medium-sized operation like Muslim ibn 'Aqil.

He also explained that the many individuals affected with nervous diseases are the result of the continuing war. He said the increasing number of children under 5 years of age killed should be attributed to the failure of such essential foods as meat, vegetables and fruits to reach them.

He indicated that 90 percent of the medicines required were manufactured in Iran prior to the revolution; now, 90 percent of all medicines are imported. All these facts were presented by Doctor Manafi, minister of health.

Here is another example of the financial scandals in the Ministry of Petroleum revealed by Rashidiyan, a deputy from Abadan, when he named Minister of Petroleum Mohammad Gharazi as a man who doesn't care whether all Iran collapses as long as he gets his commissions.

Rashidiyan, who is close to Khamene'i, submitted to the deputies a list of the financial scandals in the Ministry of Petroleum where \$3 billion of the wealth of the people and treasury were squandered. At the end of the sessions of parliament, Musavi and his ministers, with five exceptions, received a vote of confidence. What is worth noting, however, is the number of those who refused to give the government a vote of confidence.

Admiral Ahmad Madani, former Iranian minister of defense, believes "the new opposition in parliament will be more effective than Bazargan's group was in the first session of parliament."

Perhaps the best thing that can be done now is to sit back and watch those who have robbed Iran fight among themselves.

5214

CSO: 4604/41

IRAN CLANDESTINE REPORTS ARRESTS, PRISON TORTURE

GF241811 (Clandestine) Radio Iran in Persian 1330 GMT 24 Sep 84

[Text] Nationalist sources report that Naser Dadsetan, one of the people in Mehrabad's No 1 fighter base who was arrested on 8 July by the strike force of the Evin revolution prosecutor's office while on duty, has died as a result of the wounds he received during torture.

The officials of Evin prison, as usual, have advised the family of this military man that he committed suicide while in prison. Another report notes that a chemical engineer, Ahmad Majlesi, with a wife and three children, was also murdered in Evin prison by torture. Iranian Kurds also announced in Europe that on 16 August 32 political prisoners were secretly executed in Reza'iyeh. The identity of three of them has been revealed so far. They are Jangali 'Abbaspur, Loqman 'Abbaspur, and Eqbal Meydan, but the identity of the rest is still unknown.

An agent of the regime, Mehdi Jabbar Zare', who was accused of direct participation in torture of political prisoners and the creation of an informant network for Khomeyni's regime, was the target of the attack of a number of armed men. He was killed instantly. The same report adds that another spy of Khomeyni's regime, 'Abbas 'Abedizadeh, was the target of an armed attack in his own shop. He was also killed. JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI has called him "Hezbollahi" individual. Another agent of the Islamic regime, Qasem (?Barzin), was ambushed by armed people last Wednesday in Tehran's Gomrok area and was killed. He was in charge of a group of regime's club-wielders. Mohammad 'Ali Qodsimeh who was one of the effective agents of the regime in torture and oppression and who was also a mobilization member and an informer in Ahvaz, was attacked by a number of young people armed with guns in the city's (?Chapil) District and was killed by their gunfire.

CSO: 4640/23

MONTAZERI: WE SHOULD ACCEPT CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 18 Sep 84 p 22

[Text] Qom--The Supreme Revolutionary Guard Command Council of Region One and the Municipality of Qom, along with a number of officials from the Manzarieh Base of Qom, met with Ayatollah al-Ozma Montazeri.

At this meeting, he offered greetings for 'Eyd-e Ghadir and said: The revolutionary guard is an organization which has more spiritual power than other organizations, and more is therefore expected of it, because of the sensitivity of its work. The danger of its penetration by unsuitable people from other organizations will also be greater. He stressed: All of the ethical and religious aspects of those who wish to be accepted in this organization must be studied.

With regard to allowing room for criticism in the revolutionary guards and other organizations, including the Majlis, the government, and the seminaries, he said: We must not silence those in any organization or seminary who point out deficiencies in a sincere and friendly way; they must be given permission to give true and constructive criticism, even if it be of a higher official or a professor or teacher. We must not fire, deny employment, or deprive every person who wishes to criticize something which has been done, a revolutionary guard commander, an organization official, or professor.

If this were to happen in the country and in the government, and criticism were not allowed, the natural result would be the ascendancy of flatterers and weak people, and the isolation of powerful, understanding, and sensitive people, and the revolution would soon rot from within and collapse. In the same connection, he stressed: Our methods must differ basically and fundamentally from those of the former regime, and, praise God, they do. Under the former regime, any form of criticism was forbidden. There was total suffocation, tongues were silenced, and no one had the courage to say a word. Whoever was the smoothest talker and the best flatterer was given the opportunity to grow and be active, and we saw the ultimate fate of such a regime. This is not the situation in the government of the Islamic Republic, however. In this government, which has been built on the basis of the laws of Islam and the desires of the people, where just as Islam has commanded "the faithful mirror the faithful," a believing and committed individual must be able to mention his own religious faults in relation to the revolution and

Islam in order to remove them. We must also thank those who point out our weaknesses and faults in a friendly way; we must not reprimand, condemn, or isolate them.

The Truth Must Be Told to Eliminate Weaknesses

He stressed: The above quotation from our traditions concerning criticism of one another is very elegant and eloquent. On the basis of this line, just as a mirror shows all the beautiful and ugly features and the reality of a person with no deletions or additions, a believing individual must reflect and speak the truth like a mirror with relation to society and other individuals, each one of whom naturally has a responsibility in an Islamic society; one must not constantly dwell on either weaknesses or strengths exclusively. The truth must be told, so that if there are weaknesses and faults they may be eliminated, and the positive points and strengths may be given the necessary encouragement.

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CSO: 4640/5

PRIME MINISTER WARNS PILOTS OF ADVERSE FOREIGN INFLUENCE

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 13 Sep 84

[Text] A number of pilots, flight engineers, and flight attendants of the airlines of the Islamic Republic of Iran met with Engineer Mir Hoseyn Musavi, the prime minister, yesterday afternoon. In this meeting, first, Shafte, the general manager of the airlines of the Islamic Republic of Iran, presented a report concerning the activities of the flight cadres and the increased volume of work.

Then the prime minister explained the importance of the services of the flight cadre from a cultural perspective and pointed out their grave responsibility in regards to attaining the sacred goals of the Islamic Republic. In one part of his speech, the prime minister said: The airport and the people who work there witness the interaction of various cultures. The pilots and their colleagues on the airlines come in contact with various cultures in every trip abroad and they must be aware of the danger of acculturation. The domination that culture imposes over human beings is very subtle and intangible. However, the work that you brothers who regularly travel abroad engage in places you under the pressure of other cultures. But the values brought to us by the revolution must be like an internal weapon to fight the domination of the above-mentioned cultures. The prime minister emphasized that the various strata of the revolutionary Muslim people of Iran must destroy the domination of the disarming cultures of the superpowers by their behavior and added: In connection with the various conspiracies devised by the superpowers and the enemies of the Islamic revolution to break down and destroy the cultural values of the Islamic revolution, he added: Our revolution has created a deep change and has appeared as a great threat to the superpowers. Hence, various conspiracies have been carried out by them in various forms, including the economic embargo, the conspiracies of the pro-East or pro-West minigroups, and the coup d'etat plans. These conspiracies still continue on a large scale.

Therefore, a grave duty has been conferred on you and you have a great share in confronting these conspiracies as well. In connection with air piracy and the advantages the enemies take of it, the prime minister said: When an airplane is hijacked in the West, for instance, in the United States, the reports and analyses may not be 1/20 of the volume of news reported in connection with an air piracy in Iran. This in itself shows the advantages that our enemies make of such air piracies. In fact, with such conspiracies, the superpowers want to prevent the exposure of our just statements among the nations and try to take away this important weapon from us.

In conclusion, praising the services of the flight cadres, Engineer Musavi said: I am certain that despite the grave responsibility on the shoulders of you brothers, these new conspiracies will also be suppressed. It is true that you are not on the battle fronts but your cabins and your airplanes are fronts you must defend. Once more I stress that your work in dealing with various cultures and knowing how to do so is even more important than the complicated techniques of flying.

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CSO: 4640/428

OPPOSITION PAPER REPORTS MINERS' STRIKE IN KERMAN

GF211240 London KEYHAN in Persian 13 Sep 84 p 2

[Text] Tehran--Around 90 percent of coal miners in Kerman, in a large gathering, demanded the dissolution of Islamic committees and payment of special profit shares. The gathering of mine workers from the (Pabedana) and (Hashuni) mines took place on 2 September and coincided with a trip to the area by the minister of mines and metals of the Islamic regime. The miners refused to attend a gathering arranged for the minister and instead gathered together in the public hall of (Pabedana).

After 2 hours of discussions with the representative of Ayatollah Khomeyni, the miners agreed to let the minister and his delegation in and welcomed him with chants of "God is great" and "heavy work, respectable pay." The regime's minister then made a short speech against international oppression which was repeatedly interrupted by crowd chants of "God is great," "there is no God but Allah," and "without payment of special profit shares, work is not going to be done." Reports coming from Kerman show that the labor unrest in the region which started with a short strike in the Sarcheshmeh copper complex has continued in various forms during recent weeks. The industrial labor force is indirectly forming an organization to air its economic demands and political opinions. A representative of labor from (Hashuni) said: The government is weak and does not dare use harsh measures against labor. They know that labor has turned against Velayat-e Faqih.

The Islamic minister has promised to appoint a delegation to look into the demands of the miners as soon as possible.

CSO: 4640/18

IRAN

RECONSTRUCTION MINISTER: RURAL INDUSTRY KEY TO SELF-SUFFICIENT INDUSTRY

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 16 Sep 84 p 3

[Text] Engineer Bizhan Zangeneh, Minister of Reconstruction, spoke at a 1364 [21 March 1985-20 March 1986] budget planning seminar for reconstruction crusade technical committees from all over the country. He said: The masses must be mobilized through the construction of extensive rural industry.

The ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY reports that a two-day seminar for reconstruction crusade committees from throughout the country began yesterday morning for the purpose of planning the 1364 [21 March 1985 - 20 March 1986] budget for rural industry.

At this gathering, attended by all officials of the technical committees throughout the country and officials of various reconstruction crusade units, Engineer Bizhan Namdar-Zangeneh, Minister of Reconstruction, said: Deficiencies in management organizations which exist in our rural governments must be corrected by the reconstruction crusade.

He also said: We believe that rural industry will be the foundation of the entire country's industrial independence and self-sufficiency; we intend to create a diversified economy in the rural areas out of the present single-source economy. This will be done by expanding agriculture, securing and increasing the farmer's income, creating seasonal and permanent employment, and laying the foundation for the intellectual and ethical growth of the farmers in the rural areas.

In another portion of his talk, the Minister of Reconstruction added: At a meeting yesterday with President Seyyed 'Ali Khamenei, a report on the aims of this seminar was presented to the President. The President, while providing guidance, stressed that the matter of expanding rural industry must be seriously, sensitively and extensively pursued. The effort must be made to make a place for this new industry in the industrialized society of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Mr Zangeneh emphasized that the reconstruction crusade has been allocated 300 million tomans for the expansion of rural industry. He said: The crusade's executive capability has increased greatly, but growth must be expanded proportionally in accordance with existing resources. We will soon distribute one thousand mechanical looms throughout the country.

He added: Rural industry is something new that must grow; employment must be created for rural peoples, and in this matter our perspective must encompass a very broad scale, and it must be mobilized to make use of the people's resources.

The Minister of Reconstruction stressed that the role of the government in this is merely to centralize forces, organize affairs, and supervise. He said: In order to expand rural industry, real investments must be made to attract productive and specialist manpower, for manpower training, and for study, research, and raising the awareness of rural people.

According to this report, the basic policies that will be discussed and studied at this seminar are:

- 1 - Planning and mobilizing the necessary resources for study and research in order to create rural industries and prepare the way for their expansion.
- 2 - Incorporating capital from the banks and the people into this matter.
- 3 - Planning to create and expand rural industries, especially those that will provide a quick return and produce employment or income on a wide scale.
- 4 - Priorities for industries such as food, agriculture, animal husbandry, metallurgy, agricultural textile materials, mining, wood, and so forth.
- 5 - Planning to make possible extensive participation by rural people in the management and creation of rural industries.

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CSO: 4640/2

IRAN

SOVIET OFFICIAL: IRAN-SOVIET TRADE BASED ON MUTUAL INTEREST

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 19 Sep 84 p 3

[Article: "Soviet Chamber of Commerce Director Announces at Press Conference: Commercial Exchanges Between the Soviet Union and the Islamic Republic of Iran Are Based on Equal Rights and Mutual Interest"]

[Text] Commercial exchanges between the Soviet Union and the Islamic Republic of Iran, which are based on equal rights and mutual interest, play an important role in expanding economic relations between the two countries. The volume of commercial trade between the two countries has increased in recent years, and is now higher than it was in 1979 prior to the revolution.

The Director of the Soviet Chamber of Commerce and several officials from the Soviet Embassy in Tehran took part in a press conference, discussing various topics for media correspondents. KEYHAN's economic correspondent reports: The Islamic Republic of Iran is one of the Soviet Union's principal trading partners. In 1984 Iran, India, Argentina, and Libya, of all developing countries, exchanged the largest quantities of merchandise with the Soviet Union.

The Director of the Soviet Chamber of Commerce said: Merchandise changing hands between the two countries in 1983 had a total value of \$36.5 million rubles, which is the equivalent of 11.2 billion American dollars; 559.2 million rubles were in Soviet exports to Iran, and 377.3 million rubles were in Soviet imports from Iran.

Continuing his remarks, the Director of the Soviet Chamber of Commerce said: It has been 20 years since the 20 June 1964 agreement was signed between the Soviet government and the Government of Iran, on the basis of which the two parties would exchange goods and services as payment in kind instead of currency in trade transactions. The existing barter accounting system permits each of the two countries to conserve scarce foreign currency.

He said: Commercial exchanges are also viewed as a factor in the development of the economies of the Soviet Union and Iran. Accordingly, only goods that are confirmed as necessary and important by the two sides enter into commercial exchanges.

He added: Industrial goods form a basic part of the Soviet Union's exports to Iran. In 1983 the Soviet Union exported 159 million rubles in machinery, industrial equipment, and transportation equipment to Iran; machine products thus amounted to approximately one third of the value of all exports from the Soviet side.

The major portion of this amount was made up of machinery and materials for operating factories, such as the iron foundry now being expanded in Esfahan, and the great thermal electrical power plants at Ahvaz and Esfahan, which are being built in Iran with Soviet economic and technical collaboration.

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CSO: 4640/5

IRAN

JAPAN BECOMING IRAN'S BIGGEST TRADING CENTER

Tehran BURS in Persian 13 Sep 84 p 2

[Text] Yesterday morning, on the second day of the Tenth International Tehran Trade Show, ceremonies for Japan Day were held, attended by the Deputy Minister of Commerce for Foreign Trade, the Chief Japanese Ambassador, and a group of officials and directors from the booths of countries participating in the show.

According to correspondents from the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY, the ceremonies began with a talk by Banakanumura, the Japanese Ambassador to our country. He offered good wishes for the Tenth International Tehran Trade Show, and stressed his desire to expand existing relations between the Islamic Republic of Iran and Japan. He said: The level of trade between the two countries reached 7 billion dollars last year, which made Japan Iran's largest trading partner. At the same time, with regard to technical cooperation we saw continuous and significant progress in agricultural expansion projects on the Caspian littoral, urban transportation, the control of surface water in the Municipality of Tehran, and the acceptance of Iranian trainees for training programs.

Referring to the longevity of Iran-Japan relations, he added: Japan plans to expand its relations with Iran in the private sector as much as possible, as well as within the government. He also said: Our country is prepared to play an active role in Iran's national development, in such areas as agricultural expansion, domestic centralization of the production of various industries such as the automobile industry, expansion of the electrical power network, expansion of water supplies, and adding to the facilities at anchorages and ports.

Khosrow Taj, Our country's Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade in the Ministry of Commerce, welcomed Japan and expressed thanks for its participation in the Tenth International Tehran Trade Show. He said: Although the volume of trade between the two countries last year was more than 7 billion dollars, and Iran played a significant role in supplying Japan with the oil it needs, at the same time it will be necessary in future years for Iranian imports from Japan to concentrate increasingly on capital goods, with minimal amounts of consumer goods, especially since Japan has made significant progress in heavy industry.

He referred to Iraq's imposed war which it is waging against the Islamic Republic of Iran with the help of the superpowers. He said: With all the blessings this war has brought to us, it has prevented us from carrying out long-term projects in the area of the country's needed heavy investments. Most of the volume of our trade relations with other countries has therefore been aimed at procuring needed raw materials and industrial machinery, and this situation was inherited from the past. Only a negligible percentage of that went for the implementation of new projects. At the same time, the Iran-Japan petrochemical project is a noteworthy example of the projects that have been able to produce workable results. He also expressed the hope that in the future more capital goods would be exhibited in this trade show by Japan, so that more industrialists would be able to visit Japan's booth.

The ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY states: A representative of the Japan Foreign Trade Organization (J.T.O.) at the Tehran International Trade Show spoke concerning the types of products on display and the volume of commercial activity between Iran and Japan.

It is to be noted that the Japanese booth featured Japanese agricultural machinery, communications and electronics equipment, and home electrical appliances.

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CSO: 4640/3

IRAN

GASOLINE, DIESEL PISTONS PRODUCTION UP 25, 35 PERCENT RESPECTIVELY

Tehran BURS in Persian 29 Aug 84 p 4

[Text] More than 112,000 gasoline pistons and 33,000 diesel pistons were produced in the first three months of the current year [21 March - 21 June 1984] at the Tabriz Piston Factory through the efforts of the workers. This represents a 25 percent and a 35 percent increase respectively over the same period last year.

The Director of Production at the Tabriz Piston Factory announced this during an interview with a correspondent from the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY. He referred to the factory's brief history and said: This production unit was established in 1354 [21 March 1975 - 20 March 1976] on an 84,000 square meter site with a nominal annual production capacity of one million pistons, and went into commercial production in 1360 [21 March 1981 - 20 March 1982].

He noted that the factory has casting, testing, machining, quality control, tooling, and packaging departments. Concerning steps taken to improve product quality, he said: For this purpose, very precise quality control work is being done. First, alloy constituents are made into the required alloy in the mother kilns and transferred to holding kilns. At all stages, before being used the alloys are analyzed by control instruments, and these results are evaluated and studied with chemical tests. After chlorine removal, casting, and moving through the other stages, the piston goes to the machine shop, which is equipped with a line for tooling gasoline and diesel pistons. After several tooling steps, washing and grease removal, the piston will undergo at least 70 inspections and quality control tests. In the quality control section the diesel pistons are coated with graphite, and the gasoline pistons are coated with zinc through a chemical process. This step is very effective in raising the quality of the pistons, and is done in few factories in the world.

The Director of Production at the piston factory referred to the measures that have been taken to achieve self-sufficiency in the procurement of parts. He said: Through the efforts of the factory's committed engineers, the factory's tooling unit was started with 12 forms for making machine parts for gasoline and diesel pistons. Through the use of this unit, parts needed by the casting and machine shops will be obtained, and more than 312,000 marks will be kept from leaving the country.

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CSO: 4640/2

BRIEFS

NON-CASH SUPPORT TO EDUCATORS--Instructions to prepare lists of the payments of non-cash aid to administrative and educational employees of the Ministry of Education were issued to the general offices of this Ministry. A circular letter sent to the offices of education in this regard states: In accordance with the regulations and bylaws ratified by the honorable ministers of the Cabinet concerning the procedure for payment of non-cash aid to government employees, the offices of education are responsible to take steps at the earliest opportunity to prepare the related lists of the payment of this aid. It should be pointed out that according to the ratifications of the Cabinet, the level of non-cash aid to employees whose total salaries, wages and employment bonus pay, special bonus pay, regular monthly benefits, retirement or duty pay, or wages are up to 40,000 rials, will be 1,500 rials per month for every dependent; and from 40,000 to 75,000, 1,000 rials for every dependent; and from 75,000 to 100,000, 500 rials per month. Also, that group of employees whose salaries are in excess of 100,000 rials will not be eligible for non-cash aid. According to the law, in families in which the husband and wife are employees of ministries, government establishments or companies or establishments or institutions which are in any way funded by the government, only the husband and children will be eligible for this aid. In cases of the custody of children having been given to the mother in accordance with the law, the non-cash aid for the children will be given to the mother. Also, non-cash aid to female children of the employees will be given until such time as they accept government employment or are married. Male children are eligible to receive non-cash aid up to the age of 20 and if they are studying in one of the universities or institutions of higher education, up to the age of 25. [Text] [Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 13 Sep 84 p 3] 10,000

CSO: 4640/428

PAKISTAN'S GOALS, U.S. INTERESTS DISCUSSED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 21 Sep 84 p 4

[Text]

On the eve of George Bush's visit to Pakistan, U.S. Ambassador Dean Hinton had identified attitude towards Israel and Pakistan's Nuclear programme as the two major areas of potential discord between Pakistan and the United States. Ostensibly the Ambassador was spelling out his country's terms for a revival of the spirit of the fifties, when Pakistan had accepted American tutelage in return for military and economic assistance. After the collapse of the Shah in Iran, the U.S. quest for an alternative has impelled it to explore various options including the possibility of "restoring" Pakistan to the status of an ally. Though President Zia-ul-Haq has unequivocally ruled out the possibility of granting bases to the Americans, their "friends" in Pakistan, who are by no means insignificant, are already engaged in a whispering campaign for strengthening ties with the U.S.

The eagerness with which the outcome of the U.S. Presidential polls is being awaited both in the Government, as well as in the opposition circles, conveys the impression that perhaps it is the key factor in determining the course of future developments in this country. Even among those who censure the U.S., the favourite theme is the unreliability of American friendship and their attitude is that of a jilted suitor. The fallacy is to regard the U.S. as a friend.

Friendship among nations is always perceived in terms of identity of interests and objectives. In the realm of diplomacy, clear distinction between strategic relationships and tactical ties is of vital

importance. Tactical alliances are often based on expediency or the exigencies of a given situation and the partners are aware of their limitations as well as the dichotomy inherent in such a relationship. It is therefore futile to lament disloyalty or breach of faith when a tactical ally is let down.

The strategic interests of the U.S. in this region are by no means a closely guarded secret of the Pentagon. The Americans would like to (i) keep the pot boiling in Afghanistan so as to ensure that there is no political settlement of the issue resulting in the withdrawal of the Russian troops (ii) subvert the Islamic revolution in Iran, (iii) protect the status quo in West Asia against popular uprisings and in the eventuality of a threat to status quo, to occupy the oil fields (iv) prop up India as a regional hegemonic power. In order to secure their objectives they would like to liquidate the Anti-Zionist resistance, set up a Rapid Deployment Force and seek bases in countries from where they can conveniently make swift strikes. The U.S. perception of friendship in this region should be viewed in the context of its explicit strategic objectives. If the Americans are in search of allies they have made no secret of the terms on which they want to negotiate with them. It is for the prospective aspirants to consider the implications of the price they will have to pay in order to make the deal.

An examination of the U.S. track record of dealing with tactical allies will bring home the message that ought to be understood by those who want to test the pudding by eating it. It has always been a cold-blooded operation, whether it was Ngo Dinh Diem in South Viet Nam or Trujillo in Dominican Republic. When a regime was no longer capable of serving U.S. interests it was abandoned without any qualms of conscience. The Kurds in Iraq and the UNITA-FLNA alliance in Angola were the

darlings of the CIA until they were deemed to have outlived their utility.

When John Foster Dulles arbitrarily redefined 'aggression' by inserting a special provision in the SEATO pacts, absolving the U.S. of the responsibility to come to the help of its allies except in case of "communist aggression" he was clearly stating the rules of American diplomacy. A nation seeking alliance with the U.S. must forego the right to determine its enemies and be prepared to get entangled in conflicts which don't concern it. Why would the Americans want to have bases and against whom will they be used? In case the intention is to irritate the Russians, we will have to withstand the consequences of retaliatory measures. Are we willing to make our country the theatre of cold war contention in this region? But in all probability the U.S. war machine is not so naive to believe that by establishing a few military installations adjacent to the Soviet border it can contain the Russians. The real purpose of setting up bases would be to deal with the new emerging popular forces which are threatening to disturb the status-quo labouriously preserved so far by the U.S. and its regional cronies. The exit of Shah's regime from the region has upset the U.S. scheme of things and the spill-over of the Iranian revolution has the potential to defeat their grand design of demolishing the front line opposi-

tion to their primary outpost, the Zionist entity. The failure to impose the Phalangist rule over Lebanon and more recently the possibility of the creation of a new Anti-Zionist alliance comprising Iran, Syria, Libya and Algeria makes it imperative for the Americans to initiate effective counter moves.

Needless to say that Israel does not envy an Islamic bomb however rudimentary may be the stage of its production and the Americans are deemed to ensure that it does not become a deterrent against Zionist blackmail. Some people wonder why all the recent reports of a possible Indian strike against Pakistan's nuclear installations emanated from Washington. But if one was to recall Ambassador Dean Hinton's warning, in order to secure durable "Pak-U.S. friendship" the major source of discord needs to be rooted out. In case Pakistan is not willing to remove this irritant voluntarily, Washington's green signal to New Delhi would be a subtle move to kill two birds with one stone. Even if the Indians are reluctant to oblige, a blown up campaign of the Indian threat is an excellent blackmailing tactic for making Pakistan fall in line. It would not be too surprising if the 'friends' of the Americans in Pakistan soon take the cue and offer it as a pretext for advocating the desirability of U.S. military presence on Pakistan's territory.

CSO: 4600/6

TI STAYS OUT OF MRD'S ELECTION PLANS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 15 Sep 84 p 8

[Text] SEPTEMBER 14: Leaders of eleven political parties in Pakistan which form the MRD have decided to 'boycott and resist' any elections in the country which are not free, fair, impartial and contrary to the norms of parliamentary democracy as spelled out in the 1973 Constitution, BBC reported tonight.

After three days of clandestine talks in Lahore, representatives of these parties have issued a joint declaration in this regard in which they have also decided to form an electoral alliance to contest polls if they are held in accordance with the principles of parliamentary democracy. The statement further says that the MRD would form a government of national unity if it wins elections.

According to BBC the declaration is yet to be signed by the main leaders of the parties representing the MRD. Many of them were not allowed by the Government to attend the meeting while others are either imprisoned or residing abroad. But according to one report, ten out of eleven parties would sign the agreement within the next few days. Only Tehrik-e-Istiqlal has taken a different view saying it would await final announcement by President Zia also elections before deciding whether to contest the elections or not.

According to our staff reporter, sources close to Air Marshal (Retd) Asghar Khan have indicated that his party will take part in the polls only if they lead to a transfer of power; otherwise such an exercise will be meaningless.

Additionally, the retired Air Marshal plans to reconstitute his party's Working Committee. The new Working Committee will decide on the question of participation in the elections after the announcement of the election schedule by the Government. These sources add that he is not in favour of his party taking any decision on an election alliance till such time as the Government announces a clear election schedule. As such, any moves at this stage for an MRD election alliance or boycott of polls would be premature, he feels.

CSO: 4600/6

ALL PARTIES' DECISION TO BOYCOTT NON-PARTY ELECTIONS REPORTED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 22 Sep 84 p 8

[Article by Ashraf Mashmi]

[Text] ISLAMABAD, Sept. 21: With the exception of a faction of the Pakistan Muslim League led by Pir Pagara, almost all the defunct political parties and groups have reportedly agreed to sign a one-point declaration committing themselves to the total boycott of general elections in the country should they be held on non-party basis.

The draft of the proposed declaration is said to have been finalised and will be given the final stamp of approval at a get-together of all parties inside and outside the MRD fold to be arranged shortly either in Karachi or Lahore.

Most of the leaders recently contacted by this correspondent in Lahore and Karachi were reluctant to spell out further details of the proposed declaration. Though the timing of the proposed get-together and announcement of the decision are being kept a closely guarded secret, it is believed that the declaration would be issued immediately after the modalities of the proposed general elections have been officially announced. All of them were firm in their assessment that non-party polls would be meaningless as the national parliament would not have a truly national character and would be dominated by petty individual interests.

Asked to comment on the possibilities of the proposed general elections being held by March next year, these leaders responded with the counter-question: "Do you see anything happening in the country which could give you any feeling of an election atmosphere"?

Another prominent leader, while commenting on the prevailing political situation in the country, said that provincialism was beginning to erode national thinking. "Even the slogan of restoration of democracy", he said, "was losing its impact as people of the smaller provinces were beginning to believe that the struggle for democracy would mean rule by the Punjabi-dominated majority ad, as such, their slogan should be greater provincial autonomy rather than democracy.

A leader of the defunct Tehrik-e-Istiglal strongly denied reports that his party was privately in touch with the Government. He said his party leader was in government custody and as such any official emissary can approach him at any time, but such approaches could not be described as 'contacts'. He said his party was an essential component of the MRD and it was bound by the collective decisions of the organisation. Another MRD leader, when approached to comment on the possibilities of an "extended talk" between the Government and the MRD said that last month's meeting between the President and Nawabzada Nasrullah was a chance encounter and as such the question of any 'extended talk' did not arise. He said if this chance meeting had any importance, the Nawabzada would not have been confined to his house in Muzaffargarh soon thereafter.

However, explaining the official position of the MRD on dialogue with the Government, he said that it was ready to enter into negotiations on holding free and fair elections strictly under the 1973 constitution.

CSO: 4600/7

REPORT ON LAWYERS FOR ALLEGED CONSPIRATORS CONTRADICTED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 26 Sep 84 p 8

[Text] LAHORE, Sept. 25: Syed Afzal Haider, member, Pakistan Bar Council, has contradicted a news item appearing in a section of the press that another set of lawyers had been appointed at state expense to defend the 56 accused in Kot Lakhpat Jail by the special military court. He said "It is mischievous and aimed at conferring legitimacy upon the whole proceedings." Clarifying his point of view, he added that they were interested that justice should not only be done but appear to have been done.

Referring to trial of 56 persons being tried by the special military court, the member of the Pakistan Bar Council said that, he and his colleagues were very clear in their minds that it was the inalienable right of an accused person to have the services of a lawyer of his choice, and the state could not superimpose its own decision to the contrary. Syed Afzal Haider said that the accused had already given their powers of attorney to a panel of lawyers, who had defended them in the case, while its proceeding was started "in spite of partial treatment and unsufficient record".

He said that the accused persons were forced to discontinue with the progress of the trial, because a large number of applications which were moved on their behalf were rejected.

He added that the existing panel did not boycott the proceedings. He further said that in this case 180 witnesses had to appear and no opportunity in advance was given to examine the files. It was extremely unfortunate that the government was insisting on forcing lawyers upon the accused persons. He said that the accused who were perpetually in fetters within the jail and had been awaiting trial since long, should not be deprived the services of competent lawyers of their choice.

CSO: 4600/8

PLEA FOR A 'GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY'

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 22 Sep 84 p 4

[Article by Khalid Akhtar]

[Text] With the election deadline (March 1985) barely six months away it is a matter of concern that no acceptable formula has yet been evolved for the transfer of power to the people's representatives. What miracles does the Government hope to perform in the 180 days that now remain at its disposal?

There is no denying the fact that the Aug. 12 programme has failed to generate confidence among the politicians. The reason is obvious. It has not spelled out the mechanics of the transfer of power. Who will transfer the power and to whom? Many politicians apprehend that elections under the Aug 12 programme will not change things much--the only difference being that from the CMLA the supreme power will pass on to the NSC, the Khaki coloured institution.

What may be civilianisation for the regime may not be anything nearer to a civilian rule for the politicians. This is exactly how the two sides have viewed the Aug. 12 programme. While the regime has insisted that under the circumstances the Government's plan offers the best way to return to a democratic rule, the politicians have reiterated equally strongly that the regime seeks no more than the continuation of the 'Khaki rule' in a civilian garb. At the moment the Government on surface may appear to be having an upper hand in the tussle, but in reality it may not be so. For it is the Government and not the opposition which has to deliver the goods and this puts the onus on the regime.

Non-Party Polls

It can hardly be disputed that the longer the duration of military rule, the more difficult it is to return to civilian rule. The history of most of the Latin American countries is enough to prove this point. The road to civilianisation had few obstacles in October 1977 when polls were postponed indefinitely. Now things have changed quite a bit. Time has not won political support for the regime as it was thought. But it has certainly created many problems. While the regime cannot expect much support from its allies--the Jamaat, Pagara League and Kausar Niazi group--its confrontation with the MRD has

deepened as the time has ticked by. Now any move to politicise the system by keeping the MRD away from the playing arena on any ground would be a dangerous proposition. Strangely what is not being realised is that non-political polls cannot bring about a political government.

All this makes it abundantly clear that polls under such an arrangement would be self-defeating. In the first place they will not broaden the Government's base by any significant margin and, secondly, it could be asked to what extent they will pave the way for the transfer of power. There is still time to make the programme a meaningful one with a little adjustment here and there. And sooner a move is made towards this end the better it would be.

That there can be no meaningful transfer of power without involving the politicians in the process is beyond any shadow of doubt. But sadly this aspect of the situation is being overlooked. The Government's insistence of holding polls on non-political basis had remained the biggest irritant in its relations with the politicians. The Sind agitation may appear to be a thing of the past and the opposition may seem to be badly bruised to pose any immediate threat to the Government. But this could hardly be a consolation to the regime. The MRD in a meeting held recently in Lahore has resolved to resist the non-party polls with all its might and strength. At the moment the MRD's voice may appear to be too weak to make any impact in the corridors of power but it will be a fatal mistake to underestimate the alliance. Any such miscalculation could prove very costly to the country.

National Unity Government

Then the oft-repeated argument that the next elections could be held on political basis also does not hold good. The assumption that the situation could be more stable in the country after five years than it is now and that there could be greater willingness for a more significant transfer of power on the part of the powers that be may in the end prove to be an illusion. It is time to take decisions now, no matter how hard and bitter they may be.

Many avenues of reconciliation will be opened once the Government plumps for polls on political basis. Again only such polls will provide a framework for the smooth, gradual and meaningful transfer of power. What we need is a National Unity Government to successfully meet the many internal and external dangers the country is faced with. Talking to newsmen a few days back, President Ziaul Haq said that the next three months (October, November and December) are crucial for Pakistan. And viewing the situation on the two frontiers--Eastern and Western--Pakistan can anticipate any trouble. It is imperative for us to bridge the cleavages and differences in our body-politic and be prepared to meet any eventuality. Again, none can have two opinions on the need to have a National Army. It should be a cherished objective of every Third World country. But here again we can only plan and have a National Army if we have a national government at the helm of affairs.

We can move towards the National Unity Government even before polls are held. Just a mere consensus between the parties (the Government and the opposition)

On the proposition will remove much of the tension from the national scene. The rest could follow after the elections. The Aug. 12 programme should not be any more sacrosanct than the 1973 Constitution. If the 1973 Constitution could be amended in the 'larger' national interest, necessary changes could also be affected in the Aug. 12 programme. It is time to show vision and large heartedness--for much more is at stake than the mere status quo.

CSO: 4600/7

MEETING CALLS FOR RESTORATION OF KHILAFAT

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 26 Sep 84 p 8

[Text] LAHORE, Sept. 25: Syed Yousaf Hashim Al-Rifae, ex-Kuwait Minister for Auqaf and President, World Islamic Mission for Mid-east, has called for greater unity among the Muslims to guard against the threats facing the Muslim world. He however, proposed reintroduction of 'Khilafat' and said unity could only be achieved through the sincere efforts of those who enjoy the confidence of their people.

He was replying to an address of welcome at a reception hosted in his honour by the Punjab branch of World Islamic Mission at a local hotel. Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani, President, World Islamic Mission, presided. Syed Yousaf Al-Rifae said "Ulema-i-Soo" and self-seeking officialdom were the two major groups which had always damaged the Muslims from within.

He said 'Ulema-i-Soo' seeking jobs and employment were tightlipped and could never dare to speak in support of 'Truth.' Self-seeking officials severed all connections with God and the Prophet (Peace be upon Him) and the masses.

Many of the Muslim rulers, he went on, stood severed from the Almighty and the people and could not speak from a position of strength. That is why the efforts of unity from above could bear no fruits.

Mr. Rifae said, whenever the spirit of total subordination to God and the Prophet (PBUH) weakened among the Muslims, various 'diseases' became rampant. According to him the present-day 'diseases' had their manifestation in the form of Zionism and communism. Proposing introduction of a central authority for the Muslim World, he said revival of 'Khilafat' was the only answer to the present-day threats.

Earlier, Maulana Shah Fariud-ul-Haq in his speech criticised the Motamar Alam-i-Islami Conference recently held at Islamabad and said the persons participating in the Conference were those who wrecked unity at home by denying all those rights to their people which were bestowed upon human beings by the Almighty. He said Quran and Hadith do not warrant that any ruler should enslave the people and become an all-powerful autocrat.

Shah Fariud-ul-Haq said this was the reason that the 'Muslim Umma' in spite of all its flowery announcements could do nothing about any of the problems facing the Muslim world today. He said there was a fatal contradiction in demanding the right for the people of a neighbouring country to elect their own government freely while denying the same right to one's own people.

Shah Farid-ul-Haq expressed the desire that those Muslim rulers raising high-sounding assertions of their affinity with Islamic brotherhood should be involved in sharing with Pakistan the burden of 30 lakh Afghan refugees. He suggested that at least 15 lakh refugees should be transferred to Saudi Arabia to live there in camps, until their return to their country as, according to the Holy Prophet (PBUH) Mecca and Madina were 'Darul Amaan' for all those Muslims who had been driven out of their homeland. Maulana Abdul Sattar Niazi also spoke on the occasion. Shah Ahmad Noorani paid glorious tributes to the chief guest for his services to the cause of the Muslim world.

Representatives from various sections of society attended the reception. Notable among them were Rao Abdul Rashid, Malik Hakmin Khan, Mr. Ahmad Saeed Kimani, Syed Afzal Haider, Ch. Aitzaz Ahsan, Major General (Rtd) M. H. Ansari and Mr. Shamim Hussain Qadri, retired Chief Justice of Lahore High Court.

CSO: 4600/8

COMMENTARY ON ECONOMIC PROSPECTS FOR THE COMING YEAR

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 15 Sep 84 p 4

[Article by Aslam Sheikh]

[Text] ISLAMABAD--It is going to be another difficult economic year? Perhaps it is premature to sound an alarm but early indicators compel considerable caution. Apart from some uncertainty about cotton crop, a substantial decline in last year's wheat production is going to cast its shadow over the economy in the months to come. Instead of generating the exportable wheat surplus, we are now thinking in terms of wheat imports this year.

The revised estimates of the last wheat crop have now revealed a shortfall not only in rain-fed areas but also in the irrigated tracts. The crop harvested is now said to be less than the size we were able to get in 1980-81. It is less than 11 million tons and will not meet all our requirements, including the wastage which usually occurs and what is needed for non-human consumption.

Some experts say notwithstanding a reserve of 1.8 million tons, import of one million tons is very much on the cards. Precise requirements of import are now being determined on the basis of new procurement and the compulsion to build fresh reserves, both for economic and non-economic reasons which include the uneasy border situation.

We really never totally stopped wheat imports except for last year. But since 1980 the annual average has been less than 100,000 tons, slumping to about 60,000 tons in 1981-82 (Agricultural Statistics of Pakistan 1982). The import of around a million tons this fiscal year will have serious implications for our overall balance of payments budget.

This new unexpected charge on our foreign exchange budget should be a matter of some concern at a time when new uncertainties about the future flow of foreign exchange earnings are beginning to haunt us. A steady flow of remittances is in some doubt. IMF's Extend Fund Facility, which helped us during the 1980-83 period, is terminated. Instead, a return transfer of resources to IMF has started. The World Bank is averse to providing easy Structural Adjustment Loan for balance of payments support. A new tough phase of debt management is around the corner, with old re-scheduling arrangements now over.

The delayed effect of the disastrous cotton crop of last year and an unusual expenditure on edible oil imports will also have its fall out this year. Unless the export performance dramatically improves during the current fiscal year, new pressure on foreign exchange reserves will develop. Economic managers will have to watch their steps carefully in the months to come.

Ishaq's Visit

Against this background, the visit of France Minister Ghulam Ishaq and his top aides to Washington later this week acquires some extra dimension. Of course its ostensible purpose is to join the annual World Bank IMF session to discuss global economic issues. But obviously it will provide a good opportunity for a wide-ranging review of bilateral relations both with international financial institutions as well as U.S. authorities. Not only the quantum of their contribution to our foreign reserves is substantial, their heavy involvement in our economic management directly and indirectly is an open secret.

I understand that an IMF mission on visit here recently for an annual review of our economic management was far from happy with all that we have done in recent years to de-regulate the economy in compliance with their prescriptions. Their findings will have some bearing on our future economic relations with the World Bank too. The actual disbursement of a substantial promised World Bank loan for industrial and energy sectors is subject to the degree of Bank's satisfaction with our new industrial policy as well as the extent of tariff reforms we have effected to reduce excessive protection to local industries. We have gone a long way in devaluating our rupee through its managed float since January 1982 but I understand some IMF experts feel that we are still over-valued in relation to some currencies. The Finance Minister and his aides may have a tough time in reconciling their views on all these subjects with our financial friends in the Washington based international financial institutions.

In talks with US AID officials, quicker disbursement of already promised economic assistance will of course be a major issue. The actual disbursement of 1.6 billion economic assistance since 1981 has so far been only \$300 million, which gives an average of \$100 for three years. In a difficult economic situation now developing, the import of commodity imports needs to be accelerated. The Finance Minister may also broach the subject of wheat imports under concessional PL-480 programme.

Controversial Issues

But in the current election climate in the U.S., when all kinds of controversial issues are being tossed about, including Pakistan's nuclear programme, it will be important for our negotiators to resist attempts to add new strings to new aid promises or disbursement of old commitments. While total economic sovereignty may be a myth for a debtor country, it will be tragic to lose whatever flexibility we still retain to manage our affairs. In a difficult new phase of development, any further erosion of authority in this sphere can be disastrous.

CSO: 4600/6

BRIEFS

LAWYERS FOR THE ACCUSED--LAHORE, Sept. 25: An accord appears to have been reached in connection with the appointment of defence counsel for the 54 accused facing charges of high treason and subversion before a special military court in Kot Lakhpat Jail. A group of lawyers had a meeting yesterday with the special military court chairman at the jail premises, and they were reportedly told that the accused will be allowed the services of only two counsel of their choice. Earlier, the court chairman had contacted several leading lawyers who had been named by the accused to appear as their defence counsel. Consultations were going on between the lawyers in light of the latest developments in the cases as to the nomination of two counsels. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 26 Sep 84 p 8]

GAUHAR AYUB IN LEADERSHIP FIGHT--PESHAWAR, Sept. 25: Just as the tussle between federal minister Raja Sikandar Zaman and late President Ayub Khan's son Gauhar for Hazara's leadership was reported to have become serious, the latter is said to have developed differences with PML President Pir of Pagara as well. These differences were made public when Gauhar Ayub unilaterally announced the cancellation of the Pir's tour of Hazara division, scheduled for Sept. 23 and 24. The Pir insisted, but the former MNA resisted, and finally the Pir decided to come anyway. But the programme remained confined to an Eid Milan party held in Abbotabad on Sunday. Gauhar Ayub did not attend. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 26 Sep 84 p 8]

DETENTION OF IRSHAD EXTENDED--THE MARTIAL LAW authorities have extended the detention period of the former Punjab Minister Chaudhry Mohammad Irshad, and a former MPA, Chaudhry Hanif, for another three months. They were arrested on September 5, 1983, from the Islamabad airport under MLO-77 when they arrived from London to participate in the protest campaign. The other seven persons, including former MPA Mian Sajid Pervaiz, and Noor Mohammad Mahi, were released some months back. [Text] [Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 6 Sep 84 p 17]

MINISTER DEFENDS LAND ALLOTMENTS--LAHORE, Sept. 21: Vice-Admiral Mohammad Fazil Janjua, Federal Minister for Food and Agriculture, said here today that the government decision to allot some tracts of land in Sind and Punjab to certain influential families for livestock farming, was not a violation of the Land Reforms Act and was in the larger interest of the country. He was replying to a question from a farmers' representative at

the seminar organized by a local Daily. Vice-Admiral Janjua pointed out that the latest Land Reforms Act granted exemption to the livestock farms. He said government had allotted only those tracks of lands for livestock farms which had been lying uncultivated for about a decade. He said these lands consisted of barren and hilly areas which could be brought under cultivation only through heavy capital investment. He said it was not possible for the small landholders to bring these areas under the plough because of scarcity of resources. In view of this, he said, the government had allotted these lands to make rich families who could make investment there and help in increasing livestock production of the country. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 22 Sep 84 p 8]

STUDENT LEADER SENTENCED--LAHORE, Sept. 23: A summary military court at Kot Lakhpat Jail convicted an ex-student leader of the Punjab University Ghulam Abbas on the allegations of collaborating with the activities of Al-Zulfikar. He was awarded 3 years rigorous imprisonment and shifted to district Jail Sahiwal. Proceedings of a case against Ch. Ghulam Qadir, President defunct PPP Lahore was also completed in the summary military court. Final order has been reserved. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 24 Sep 84 p 10]

NON-PARTY ELECTIONS OPPOSED--PESHAWAR, Sept. 15: A well attended meeting of the workers of the Pakistan Movement and members of the provincial working committee of the PML held here on Friday totally rejected the proposed party-less elections as these amounted to the negation of the struggle for the creation of Pakistan. The meeting which was chaired by Mian Mohammad Iqbal was attended among others by former Federal Minister Yusaf Khan Khattak and Fida Mohammad Khan who is also a Federal Shoora member, another Federal Shoora member Akhunzada Bahrawar Saeed, Central Vice President of the PML, Syed Sibtul Hasan, Tahir Mahmood, Advocate, and Nazir-ullah Khan, advocate. The meeting held heated discussions on the subject and despite a suggestion to the contrary from Akhunzada Bahrawar Saeed the participants unanimously called for election on party basis by March next. The meeting, however, was of the view that because of the critical situation along the eastern and western borders, the policy of confrontation would not be in the interests of the country but at the same time the developments could not be made an excuse to avoid the elections. Those speaking at the meeting suggested that an election alliance among the like-minded parties would be a useful exercise but the consensus was that Jamat-e-Islami could not be considered like-minded party so far as the PML was concerned. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 16 Sep 84 p 8]

MAZARI STILL NDP CHIEF--KARACHI, Sept. 15: Sardar Sherbaz Khan Mazari, President of the defunct NDP, has said that his party's elections to the Central Executive would be held by the middle of November. Commenting on the news of his resignation from the presidentship of the party, carried by an Urdu daily and eveningers here he said that he had tendered his resignation from the presidentship four months back as per the constitutional requirement of the party. 'Nobody can contest any executive post for more than two terms', he explained. However, he continued to be the president of the party till the next election. He said that the party elections were to be held in the month of October but due to Maharram they had been shifted to mid-November.

In reply to another question he said that his party's stand viz a viz MRD had not changed. "We continued to be a component of the MRD and are morally bound to abide by its four-point he added. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 16 Sep 84 p 8]

ELECTION LAW DRAFT SAID READY--KARACHI, Sept. 15: The legal experts have finalised the drafts of proposed constitutional amendments and election law, a local English evening here, quoting informed sources from Islamabad reported today. It further said that the drafts will now be considered by the Federal Cabinet some time next month. It said that under the proposed constitution the President is to be elected by a joint session of the Assembly and the Senate. The proposed election law will have a provision for holding elections on non-party basis. The election Commission will also be empowered to enforce the disqualification as laid down in the election law. It further said that when the draft amendments and the election law are approved by the Federal Cabinet the provincial governments would be asked to make preparations for maintaining law and order before and during the polls. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 16 Sep 84 p 8]

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